Daily Report

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Berisha, Owen, Stoltenberg Discuss Macedonia

AU1006204893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] The problems of the crisis in former Yugoslavia dominated the talks between President Sali Berisha and peace conference cochairmen Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

After expressing his appraisal of the Vance-Owen plan and the attainment of solutions for the problems in former Yugoslavia, President Berisha stressed the need to find ways to prevent Belgrade's aggression and motives to create a Greater Serbia through military means, something that would bring a general destabilization in the Balkans. In this respect, it is important that observers be placed on the border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, which would make it possible to impose the arms and fuel embargo against the Bosnian Serbs. Preventing the aggression in Bosnia is very important in stopping another outbreak of war in Krajina, Croatia.

It is essential to maintain a differentiated stance toward the Montenegrin Republic, which has displayed a different attitude than Serbia on several important issues. In particular, we should stop the possible spread of conflict to Macedonia and Kosovo, as this may include all neighboring countries. For this, it is necessary to exert pressure on Serbia in various forms, including a tightening of the embargo until Kosovo is placed under international control and an agreement on its political status is approved.

President Berisha explained Albania's position concerning the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which aims at affinity and cooperation between the two countries, its persistence on the recognition and security of this country, as well as the conditioning of the acceptance of Macedonia's membership in the CSCE with the respect for the rights of the Albanian population in this country in conformity with the commitments taken by the Macedonian side and CSCE standards. The demands, whose fulfillment would be sufficient for Albania to vote pro at the CSCE, are that this republic proclaims in its Constitution that it is a state of free citizens, in which the use of the Albanian language and education and information in this language is legally guaranteed and includes Albanians in all state, local, and central structures in the proportion pertaining to them and in conformity with a correct and clear registration that has been promised to be held.

President Berisha also declared that the name Slavo-Macedonia would be unacceptable for Albanians as a solution of compromise for the nomination of this republic.

Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg completely agreed with Albania's stance toward Macedonia and promised to commit themselves to influencing the Macedonian side to meet the criteria to respect the rights of Albanians.

Minister Zhulali Arrives in U.S. for Visit

AU1006103593 Tirana ATA in English 0825 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry reports that on June 8, an Albanian military delegation, headed by the Minister of Defence, Safet Zhulali, arrived at Andrews Air Base. Mr. Zhulali is paying an official visit to the USA at the invitation of the U.S Secretary of Defence, Mr. Les Aspin.

At the airport our delegation was received by the U.S Deputy Secretary of Defence on European and NATO Questions, Mr. Bader, as well as by the Albanian ambassador in the USA, Roland Bimo. The greeting of Mr. Aspin addressed the Albanian minister of defence says among other things:

"I am convinced that your visit is both historical and symbolic. It is historical because it is the first time for a minister of defence of Albania to visit Pentagon, and symbolic because it shows to the world that we have a common desire to conduct a close and continuous dialogue about the events in the Balkans."

Yesterday, Minister Zhulali continues the visit with meetings at the National Security Council, general department of information and intelligence etc.

'Forces of Order' Sent To Disperse Strikers

AU1106075093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Announcement by Council of Ministers' spokesman]

[Text] For more than three weeks a hunger strike held by former owners from various districts was staged in several cities of the country to object to the Law on the Return and Compensation of Property to Former Owners.

Representatives of the Presidency, the People's Assembly, and the government told them several times that the law expresses the will of the majority of the Albanian people, is compiled for the benefit of everyone, and can only be changed by the law-making authorities. Despite a judgment of its demands, the prolonged strike was continuing further, thus threatening the lives of the strike participants who refused to apply the given promises to stop the strike.

Faced with the self-sacrifice of the strikers or intervention to forcefully halt the strike, the government decided to defend the lives of these citizens. On the other hand, the government will not allow any illegal pressure on the activity of the People's Assembly and other democratic institutions by putting into danger the lives of the citizens.

The government wants to emphasize to the Albanian public that the inclusion among the strikers of elements from near-by areas and the continuous changing of their demands, as well as the ultimate pressure upon the state and the endangering of the peoples' health, are acts prohibited in every democratic country. For this reason, the forces of order intervened and sent the strikers to their homes. Those who were in a bad health were sent to the hospital for treatment and care.

Berisha Calls Decision 'Fair'

AU1106075293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] The President's Press and Information Office reports that President of the Republic Sali Berisha has assessed as fair the government's decision to stop the hunger strike staged by former owners.

Mr. Berisha stressed that the right to live is the first and the most fundamental human right. Based on the Human Rights Charter, this right cannot be infringed, expect in cases decided by the courts. Thus, the government is and will be obliged to defend this fundamental right at all costs, despite the desperate decisions that certain individuals can take, even for themselves.

People who lost their lives, their loved ones, their youth, their schools, their property, and many other precious things, are numerous in the Albania of half a century of dictatorship. Of course, all these are serious traumas that will, in no way, be able to come back again. They have opened wounds, but all should be convinced that only democracy and the freedom that it creates and the compensations that will be made within the real opportunities are the best political and social solutions.

The Democratic Party would not have been a party of democratic ideals and values if it had not fully applied its program. This is true for every serious political party in the world, moreover in Albania, where the Albanians cheated for more than half a century. The return of the belief in the word of honor, the proclaimed program, and the given promises are a factor of great importance for the country's present and future.

Besides these, the president again stressed that he has great respect for the sufferings, sacrifices, and privations of the hunger strikers in the past, but under the conditions of democracy and the law-governed state, the change of laws through strikes or other forms of pressure will, in no circumstances, be accepted. In democracy, there is only one way to change the laws—and this is through a free vote.

Justice Minister Meets European Council Official

AU1006113093 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—At the meeting with Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the European Council, Kudret Cela, Albanian minister of justice, presented an overview of the state in Albania, the political and administrative reform and the action of the government to perform the economic reform, to encourage investments, to step up the privatization process, etc. He provided her with detailed information on the reform in the field of legislation. "The reform in legislation is being successfully performed," he underlined among the other things. Intensive work is done to draft the constitution, which is expected to be over soon and will be submitted to the People's Assembly. He thanked the European Council and the Venice Commission for the precious aid they give in this regard and appreciated the work of the task force mission and other experts to compile text books, to prepare teachers of the law faculty.

Catherine Lalumiere declared she was happy things were going on well in Albania. She said that it is hard to change the people's mentality and this is characteristic of all ex-socialist countries. In regard to the reform in legislation she underlined that efforts should concentrate on the faculty of law because it prepares the jurists.

Speaking of the situation in Kosova, Lalumiere underlined that Kosova and its protection are in the focus of all international organisations. He appreciated the line of President Berisha in regard to Kosova. In the end of the meeting Lalumiere declared that the European Council is always ready to to provide Albania with effective help.

Berov, Yordanov Welcome German Chancellor Kohl

AU1006155493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] At 1700 hours [1400 GMT] a German Government delegation led by Chancellor Helmut Kohl arrived at Sofia Airport. The delegation was welcomed by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, and cabinet ministers. The German ambassador to Bulgaria, Christel Steffler, and the Bulgarian ambassador to Bonn, Stoyan Stalev, were also present.

This evening, in about an hour's time, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl will meet Bulgarian President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

Kohl Meets With President Zhelev

AU1006195093 Sofia BTA in English 1922 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 10 (BTA)—The war in the former Yugoslavia and the ways to resolve the conflict topped the agenda of a session between Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who arrived here earlier today on a two-day official visit at the invitation of the Bulgarian head of state and the Bulgarian Government, presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov told the press after the meeting.

The two leaders agreed that it is absurd to draw new borders in Europe at the end of the 20th century and that Europe's future lies in symbolic international borders, according to Mr. Stoyanov. Dr Zhelev and Dr. Kohl did not express specific apprehensions about a spill-over of the conflict, the spokesman said, answering a reporter's question.

The two also discussed the Bulgarian foreign debt, the lion's share of which is owed to German commercial banks, as well as the question of Bulgarian emigrants in Germany. If Bulgaria gets more investment for its economy, this will sort of "dam up" the emigration wave, President Zhelev told his guest.

After the session, President Zhelev gave an official dinner for Chancellor Kohl, at which the two statesmen made toast speeches. "The democratization process in Bulgaria is all-pervasive and irreversible," the Bulgarian president said. In his view, Bulgaria is in a period of consolidation, the institutes of parliamentary democracy are gaining hold, private enterprise already controls half of distributive trade and services and generates over 10 percent of the national product. The president emphasized that an expansion and strengthening of contacts between Bulgaria and Germany is important for Bulgaria in view of the country's integration with the EC.

Voicing concern over the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, Dr. Zhelev reiterated Bulgaria's principled stand on non-involvement of any Balkan country in the conflict.

For his part, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said that Bulgaria deserves credit for the reform which it is carrying out, all the more so since this revolution is proceeding peacefully, with great perseverance. Germany is ready to help Bulgaria with advice and in practice, Dr. Kohl said. Through the present consultations, Germany offers to share its experience in the market economy, science and technology.

According to Helmut Kohl, Bulgaria inspires particular respect for its policy towards the local Turkish minority, the far-sighted building of contacts with neighbouring countries, say, Greece and Turkey. "By its sensible and constructive policy Bulgaria is making a substantial contribution to the stabilization of the southeastern region," Dr. Kohl said. "Bulgaria is particularly affected by the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia. Germany assumes a personal and material commitment to the sanctions assistance mission, especially in Bulgaria. We are grateful for Bulgaria's close cooperation with the WEU [Western European Union] in the enforcement of the embargo."

Dr. Kohl is scheduled to confer tomorrow with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov and representatives of the parliamentary parties. Major bilateral agreements are to be signed during the visit.

Prime Minister Berov Receives Kohl

AU1106093793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] The meeting between the visiting German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, which took place this morning, continued for about one hour.

Raycho Raykov, government spokesman, said that Mr. Berov assured Mr. Kohl that our government is determined to implement the economic and political reforms related to changing the system, which already began, and expressed the opinion that the position of certain politicians, according to whom a recommunization is underway in Bulgaria, is devoid of any grounds.

During the meeting the two statesmen exchanged opinions on the crisis in Yugoslavia. Mr. Berov again expressed our country's firm position, namely, that the Balkan countries, and more specifically, Bulgaria, should by no means take part in direct military operations, and refrain from interfering in any way except by participating in the peaceful solution of the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

After the meeting between Helmut Kohl and Prime Minister Berov, official talks took place at the Boyana residence between the two delegations.

Three interstate documents were signed: agreements on protecting the environment and the air traffic, and an agreement on cooperation in training experts and leading cadres in the economic sphere.

While official talks were taking place at the governmental level, Bulgarian and German businessmen met in another building at the Boyana residence. This meeting was attended by Bozhidar Bozhinov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade-Industrial Chamber.

At present, at Sofia University, the ceremony of awarding Helmut Kohl the title of honorary doctor of Sofia University is taking place.

Kohl Ends Talks in Sofia

LD1106074393 Hamburg DPA in German 0602 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia (DPA)—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl ended the German-Bulgarian Government talks in Sofia today with discussions on matters of European and economic policy. The talks focused on the urgent Bulgarian wish for closer links with Western European states, going as far as NATO membership.

Chancellor Kohl was accompanied on his 26-hour visit to the Bulgarian capital by a delegation of German economic and industrial representatives, including board chairmen of a number of large German export companies. Delegation members were keen to explore the scope for expanding already existing joint ventures.

The history faculty at the University of Sofia awarded the chancellor an honorary doctorate. Juergen Trumpf, state secretary at the German Foreign Ministry, today signed agreements on air traffic and cooperation on environmental protection. A protocol on sending German teachers to Bulgaria, which Bulgaria had specifically requested, was also agreed on.

Berov Views Cabinet Changes With NSD

AU0906203693 Sofia BTA in English 1826 GMT 9 Jun 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpt] Sofia, June 9—President Zhelyu Zhelev presented Ambassador of the Republic of Korea Kim Chwasu with the Madara Horseman Order—First Class, for his contribution to the promotion of bilateral relations.

Foreign Ministry officials today signed a three-year programme on cooperation in culture, education and science between Bulgaria and Iran. The programme regulates relations among media and in sports, the exchange of students and research workers, of exhibitions and of information about conferences, festivals and other cultural events.

Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Gatsinski today denied through the Foreign Ministry Press Office Press reports he was the probable foreign minister nominee. Mr. Gatsinski stresses he has not filed his candidacy, says the press office release.

The National Assembly Economic Committee, which is debating an excise duties bill, today discussed the excise duties schedule. According to some MP's, the government-sponsored excise duty rate of 130 percent would impede the import of spirits and boost bootlegging. The excise duties on petrol will be debated at the next sitting. The government would raise them to 70 percent, up from 50.

Parliament continued a second-reading debate of the 1993 national budget bill.

A group of MP's, who support the ideas of the Civil Alliance for the Republic (a centrist formation, recently set up by Aleksandur Tomov MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP), will enter a new penal code bill at the National Assembly.

Prime Minister Lyuben Berov today discussed structural and personnel changes in the cabinet with the parliamentary New Alliance for Democracy (NSD). The MP's heard the premier's suggestions and asked information about his talks yesterday with the parliamentary BSP and Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS, of ethnic Turks). According to Dimitur Ludzhev MP, the prime minister sponsors a split of the ministry of education, science and culture. The NSD will discuss the matter later on. The NSD suggested that the Power Engineering Committee be transformed into a ministry, Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev said after the meeting. He, personally, would not support such a change. Mr. Berov announced the candidacies of Dimitur Ikonomov, Valentin Gatsinski, Khristo Ivanov and Georgi Fotev for the post of foreign minister. The NSD backs its own representative Khristo Ivanov, an NSD source said later today. Probably, Prof. Berov gave up the idea to move the candidacy of former Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov. Beside Petur Kornazhev, Mr. Berov named NSD MP Gospodin Atanasov as a candidate for the justice minister portfolio.

At a meeting in parliament today, National Assembly Deputy Chairwoman Snezhana Botusharova and the leader of the Albanian Democratic Party Dyulber Brioni discussed cooperation between Bulgaria and Albania and the situation in the Balkans. Mr. Brioni chairs three committees of the Albanian Parliament. The two lawmaking bodies will strengthen contacts, he told the press after the meeting. He said the Bulgarian parliamentarians' experience may be very useful to Albanian MP's, who are passing a new constitution this year.

The Western European Union (WEU) announced 300 policemen and eleven patrol boats will join officers in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary to monitor the enforcement of the embargo on Serbia and Montenegro on the River Danube. The operation can begin immediately, as the larger part of personnel and equipment have arrived at their destinations. The WEU customs officers will set up their main base in the Romanian town of Calafat, 40 kilometers east of the Serbian border. Other teams will be based in Ruse, Bulgaria, and Mohacs, Hungary.

Inflation in May ran at 5.3 percent, the National Statistical Institute said today. The prices of foods rose 2.47 percent, non-foods 5.1 percent, and services 19.45 percent. Inflation in the previous months of 1993 ran as follows: 6.9 percent in January, 4.24 percent in February, 5.6 percent in March, and 3.9 percent in April.

The Ground Forces top brass today held a meeting with the Chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army Army General Lyuben Petrov. Ground Force Commander Lieutenant General Tsvetan Totomirov made a report on the condition of the force, focusing on difficulties in maintaining fighting trim.

The Bulgarian Federation of Independent Miners' Trade Unions became full member of the International Miners Federation, the leader of the former announced.

Members of the Podkrepa Teachers' Trade Union began a hunger strike in front of the National Assembly in support of new legislation on education, respectable pay, and priority financing of the educational system.

The third meeting of a working team on banking and finance, sponsored by the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Forum, started near Varna on the Black Sea. Bankers, diplomats and deputy finance ministers of the eleven signatories to the Declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation will discuss the establishment of a Black Sea trade and development bank.

A two-day seminar organized by BBCIS, the official representative of IBM in Bulgaria, today started in Sofia. Hewlett Packard has staged an exhibition in Sofia. [passage omitted]

Karabashev Meets With Greek Bank Governor

AU1006182693 Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 10 (BTA)—Efthymios Christodoulou [name as received], governor of the Bank of Greece, arrived here this morning on an official visit at the invitation of the governor of the Bulgarian National Bank (BNB) Todor Vulchev. [passage omitted]

Mr. Christodoulou today conferred with Prof. Vulchev and the BNB Governing Board and attended the inauguration of a representative office in Sofia of the Thessaloniki-based Egnatia Bank.

Later in the day, the Greek official met with Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev, whom he told he was pleased with the joint work with BNB people and personally Todor Vulchev, the Government Press Office said. Mr. Karabashev surveyed Bulgarian-Greek economic relations and said that Greece is Bulgaria's third largest trading partner after Russia and Germany and the second largest investor in this country. Mr. Christodoulou showed interest in the progress of bilateral negotiations on the development of north-south transport links. Bulgaria shares the desire for better transport links and is ready to develop and implement such a project, in which the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] is showing interest, Mr. Karabashev told his guest. This project, however, needs appropriate funding, he said.

Karabashev Views Privatization, Economy

AU1106105793 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 4 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade Valentin Karabashev by Rumyana Strugarova; place and date not given: "Differentiation of Social Classes Is Favorable"]

[Excerpts] [Strugarova] Mr. Karabashev, you lead the group tasked with drafting and presenting the final procedure for privatization. However, when the government discussed the "Berov" privatization project, you were one of the opponents. As one of the authors of the existing Privatization Act, do you have any differences of principle regarding this project?

[Karabashev] I admit that I do not support nonmarket methods of privatization, especially when it is proposed to make them the main methods. At the same time, however, the very political situation in the country, the public's expectations, the need to speed up the process, and the necessity of winning broader public support all demand that some form of mass privatization be applied in parallel with market privatization. However, I continue to hold the view that the last method should be the main one. [passage omitted]

[Strugarova] For several months you have been at war with the Privatization Agency and its chief. What actually is the truth about this war?

[Karabashev] I would not use the word war. I am simply acting as the deputy prime minister responsible for the economic reform; the Agency should get on with its job. Good or bad, the act must be implemented. The Agency's extremely sluggish and, in some cases, even bad work is, along with other factors, seriously hampering the privatization process. This is the basis of my criticisms of the Agency. I have no wish to wage any war with them. If we had fulfilled the privatization program for the second half of 1992 in normal fashion and were now working on the program for 1993—you know that 86 enterprises were earmarked for privatization, then I would have no grounds for criticism. If even one-third of the firms had been privatized, it would have been a success, but this did not happen.

[Strugarova] Mr. Karabashev, you clearly belong to the modern school of economists, not the least of all because you are from a younger generation than most of your fellow ministers. Do you have any conceptual differences with Prime Minister Berov for example, who is also an economist?

[Karabashev] I think that Mr. Berov and I share many common views in spite of the age difference, but there is

no question of us belonging to different schools. Our differences relate rather to purely administrative issues—how to stimulate the economic reform most effectively. [passage omitted]

[Strugarova] How would you characterize the state of the economy, now that the government has been in office for five months?

[Karabashev] The statistics for the first five months of 1993 show a slowing of the rate of decline, which is encouraging. Whether this is due to the government's work or to the autonomous development of the economic situation is another question. It is difficult to separate the two factors. Objectively speaking, the deterioration has slowed down, and we may be close to the bottom of the downward curve. I think that this may happen at the beginning of next year, if the privatization process is considerably speeded up during this period. I link our eventual economic revival with the end of the decline and the possibilities of attracting foreign investments, as well as with the agreement on association and creating a free trade zone with EFTA. Certain gloomy forecasts that this government's policies will lead to a collapse of the relative financial stability that we have seen in the last year and a half have not come true. [passage omitted]

[Strugarova] Are you bothered by the emerging possibility that Bulgaria may be one step away from becoming a "banana republic," with highly differentiated social classes? What is your comment on a number of economic groups combining their capital and their unconcealed ambitions, I am thinking of the so-called G-9?

[Karabashev] I have not heard about the G-9 exactly, but in principle it is natural for there to be mergers between certain financial groups in the country, mainly in private business. I would not use strong expressions like "banana republic." In any case, however, over the last two and a half years, as the sociopolitical and economic situation has developed in the country, we have seen quite strong trends toward social differentiation in incomes and living standards. To a certain extent, this is favorable. Without this differentiation, one cannot expect to stimulate the enterprise and activity of Bulgarian citizens, and therefore it is necessary. Of course, above a certain limit it becomes dangerous. [passage omitted]

SDS Holds Protest Rally in Support of Sugarev

AU1006173093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Antoaneta Puncheva report]

[Text] The peaceful protest march called at the initiative of Ecoglasnost started precisely at the announced time of 1830 [1530 GMT] under the slogan: "One Life Against the Lie" [reference to hunger strike of Edvin Sugarev].

The garden in front of the National Assembly was crowded with people. The speakers who mounted the platform included Svetoslav Luchnikov, Aleksandur Yordanov, Strakhil Nedelchev, Yordan Sokolov, and Elka Konstantinova. The rally opened with the patriotic song "The Maritsa Murmurs" [anthem used by former Bulgarian monarchy].

Asen Agov was the first to speak. Three years ago we were lied to for the first time, he began, looking back to the recent past [reference to alleged lie that led to resignation of former President Petur Mladenov]. The next speaker was National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov. The life of Edvin Sugarev cannot be placed on an equal footing with those who are trying to make political careers for themselves, he said. If we want to have early elections, he continued, we should first be sure of winning them; everything else is idle talk. His speech received a very mixed reception, with many in the audience chanting in unison: "Not true!"

In addition to banners with the usual slogans of "Resign," some participants waved placards with more inventive legends, such as: "How many lives do you want before you go, Mr. President?" Among the blue banners of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], one could not see any orange Agrarian Party flags, which we have grown accustomed to seeing raised together with the SDS ones against the Land Act.

At the moment, the march is proceeding along Vitosha Boulevard, passing the Presidency and the Council of Ministers buildings and ending in Aleksandur Battenberg Square where, as I understand, the participants will hear speeches from Filip Dimitrov and Stefan Savov, who will also be joined by Ivan Kostov and Dimitur Korudzhiev.

Zhelev Urged To Resign

AU1006204193 Sofia BTA in English 1939 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 10 (BTA)—A "peaceful protest" from tents pitched in front of the Office of the President was launched this evening at a rally and procession in support of Mr. Edvin Sugarev, an MP of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), who declared an indefinite hunger strike four days ago to press demands for the president's resignation.

Passing by the Office of the President, the SDS supporters chanted "Resignation" and "Traitor." Dr. Zhelev was elected to the Presidency in the first direct presidential elections in January 1992 on the SDS ticket, but his relations with the coalition's top leadership soured later on. Some of the placards carried by the protesters this evening read "Zhelev, step down," and "Edi [Sugarev], traitors are not worth your precious sacrifice." The intellectuals and politicians who addressed the crowd emphasized that Mr. Sugarev's strike is a profoundly moral act. Mr. Stefan Savov MP,

the SDS floor leader, described President Zhelev as a "moral midget" and called on his audience, "Let's force that person to resign."

"Things have never been that serious, because a human life has never been at stake so far... Edvin showed us that there are people who are ready to assume responsibility for our honour," said SDS leader Filip Dimitrov.

The Reverend Khristofor Subev MP of the SDS said a prayer for Mr. Sugarev's health. In his prayer, the cleric mentioned King Simeon II, the exiled Bulgarian monarch who lives in Madrid, giving the crowd an occasion to chant "Simeon."

At the end of the rally, a member of the SDS city leadership in Sofia called on the protesters to pitch tents in front of the Office of the President and stay there until Monday, June 14, when the forms of continued protest will be decided at a new rally.

Mayors elected on the SDS ticket today declared themselves in support of Edvin Sugarev.

The MP's fast today occasioned an extraordinary meeting of the SDS leadership, at which it was decided that for the time being, the union will limit its support for Mr. Sugarev's demands to extraparliamentary actions.

Resolution on Sanctions Compensation Proposed

AU1006140893 Sofia BTA in English 0940 GMT 10 Jun 93

["Bulgaria Insists That UN Security Council Pass Resolution To Help Countries Suffering Losses From Embargo Against Serbia-Montenegro"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 10 (BTA)—First Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Gatsinski this morning presented to representatives of the diplomatic missions of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council a non-paper [as received] by the Bulgarian Government. It calls on the UN Security Council to adopt a special resolution for assistance to countries bearing the heavy burden of economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, the Foreign Ministry's Press Office told BTA.

Mr. Gatsinski stressed the Bulgarian position that strict sanction enforcement against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a major prerequisite for the attainment of the goals for which the UN Security Council passes its resolutions. In this context it would be logical and natural for the UN Security Council to adopt urgent measures to assist the countries whose economies suffer heavy losses due to the strict implementation of the resolutions.

Bulgaria proposes to the United Nations to establish a special fund within the framework of the world community's budget, which would allow to urgently give economic assistance to countries which have applied for compensations under Article 50 of the UN Charter.

Mr. Gatsinski said a special letter containing Bulgaria's proposal had been sent to the chairman of the Working Group on Compensations with the UN Sanctions Committee.

We expect the permanent members of the UN Security Council to show understanding for the problems of the countries worst hit by the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, Mr. Gatsinski stressed at the meeting.

A memorandum adopted by the Bulgarian Government in May said: "As a result of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 757 and 787 (1992), the economy of the Republic of Bulgaria suffered direct losses amounting to U.S. 1,800 million for the period July 1992-April 1993. ... The total amount of the losses for the period of May-December 1993 is expected to reach U.S. 1,877.6 million."

Havel Signs Law on Supreme Inspection Office

LD1006200993 Prague CTK in English 1922 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 10 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel today signed a new law on the Supreme Office of Inspection (NKU), saying that he had drawn the conclusion that it did not contravene the constitution or other legislation.

Havel used his right giving him 15 days to evaluate a law before he signs it.

The controversial law establishing the NKU was passed by the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament on May 20 by 98 to 83 votes. The chamber has 200 deputies.

The law was not supported by a single deputy from non-governmental parties and movements who said it was at variance with the constitution.

Opposition representatives called on Havel not to sign the law and to apply his right to return it back to the parliament for rewriting.

Jan Krycer, chairman of the Self-Governing Democracy Movement for Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS), which has 14 seats in the 200-seat chamber, met with Havel this morning, trying to persuade him not to sign the law.

Opposition critics claim that the law subbordinates inspection to party interests, eliminates any chance for control and contravenes the Czech Constitution.

The Social Democrats have called the law yet another step on the road towards liquidation of democracy in the Czech Republic and a starting point on the road towards an authoritative regime.

The Social Democrats say the law deprives the office of many powers which it had enjoyed thus far and which could be retained without contravening the constitution.

Left Bloc (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, KSCM, and Democratic Left, DL) have said that the constitution describes the NKU as one of the supreme constitutional bodies of the state, but the law degrades the office to a central body of state administration.

The Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) says that the whole concept of the control body, the system of its activity and internal links are most closely tied with the system of Soviet control from the 1930s, which was reflected in Czechoslovakia's legislation of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

Nuclear Plant Faces 50-Percent Reduction

AU1006201293 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Jun 93 p 3

["(lh)"-signed report: "The Operators' Departure Could Mean a Fifty-Percent Reduction in Dukovany's Output"]

[Text] Prague—The Dukovany Nuclear Power Plant is facing the prospect of having to shut down two of its four blocks. This could happen if the 51 operators who submitted their resignations are not replaced or if these key employees do not retract their resignations. Ivan Cestr, a member of the Czech Energy Enterprises [CEZ] Board, has made this information available to us. The operators submitted their resignations on 31 May. Wage demands are apparently the reason behind the resignations.

According to Cestr, the 50-percent outage would have to be dealt with by transferring electricity production to the traditional coal-fired power plants. However, this would be more expensive. "We do not have the exact figures at our disposal, but it is certain that electricity from Dukovany is the cheapest," said Ivan Cestr.

If the planned negotiations with the operators are unsuccessful, CEZ representatives will be forced to contact operators from Temelin and, obviously, also to negotiate with the Slovak energy enterprises on "lending" experts from Jaslovske Bohunice. According to Cestr, talks with his colleagues from Russia and Ukraine are not being ruled out. If they were to be employed, they would all have to pass the test set by the State Nuclear Safety Authority.

CEZ Director General Petr Karas told us that the operators sent a letter yesterday in which they denied that they had demanded the CEZ management's resignation and a disproportionately large wage increase. They describe unresolved problems in the organization and poor management as the main reasons for their resignations.

However, according to our information, wage increases (for 105 operators) evidently play an insignificant role. Despite the fact that wages are "considerably above average" in Dukovany, the demands were apparently made to bring them more into line with wages in Germany. The negotiations will commence today.

President Kovac: Early Elections No Solution

LD0906211693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Although today's news conference with Slovak President Michal Kovac was expected to be dominated by questions about the results of his visit to Italy and the Vatican and problems concerning his first 100 days in office, the questions of nearly 100 journalists concerned many more issues. We have prepared for you a brief edited version, including the most interesting questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] What possible solutions do you see for the parliamentary crisis to end, or in other words, what are the chances, in your view, that the parliamentary parties will reach an agreement? In what way are you ready to balance, through your person and character, the current situation in the government and the government policy?

[Kovac] My role is indeed to contribute to the efforts to prevent the internal political situation from being artifically complicated by petty political disputes and the attention of competent bodies being diverted from solving topical problems. Therefore, I wish to appeal to political representatives to stop their petty disputes. I personally think that for enhancing the trust in the Slovak Republic there is nothing more important than to calmly resolve our internal economic as well as political problems.

I do not support the view that new elections are a solution. In my view, the problem does not lie in the fact that there is an unsuitable political structure in our country, that the number of parliamentary parties is too high or too low, or that new political forces have emerged that could bring a more constructive approach to the solution of current problems. I am sure that even after new elections the same parties and the same political representatives would reemerge, and the good name of the Slovak Republic in the world might be damaged.

A minority government can exist provided it has specific [ucelove] agreements with several political partners and has guarantees that the laws that need to be adopted will be adopted. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Comments on G-24 Session

LD0906134193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Moravcik by station correspondent Frantisek Bizon in Bratislava on 9 June—live or recorded]

[Text] The first plenary session of the representatives of G-24 countries who assist Slovakia was held in Bratislava 9 June. Besides ambassadors of these countries who are accredited in Slovakia, there are representatives of multilateral finance institutions, namely the IMF, EBRD, the European Investment Bank, and others. Minister of Foreign Affairs Moravcik is attending on behalf of the Slovak government. Frantisek Bizon spoke with him following the morning speech.

[Bizon] Why is it significant for Slovakia's present and future that the G-24 met in Bratislava of all places?

[Moravcik] The meeting is necessary to coordinate foreign assistance for Slovakia which this group embodies. From this point of view the session is very important. We have clarified the direction in which assistance should go and how it will be organised, who is to coordinate it and so on. In other words, the technicalities.

[Bizon] You gave an address outlining new priorities in Slovakia's international and economic relations. What are they?

[Moravcik]] The priorities are the stability of currency and finance. The main directions the economy ought to take in order for [economic] transformation to continue smoothly have been outlined. Besides finance, there is another very important area—prices. The issue is closely connected with subsidies: To what extent should they be given and when should they be denied? Other issues are: support for private business and restructuring of industry, developing trade with the West and continuing and further promoting traditional trade relations, and also the support for foreign investment.

[Bizon] Slovakia has obtained certain credit and loan facilities. What are the future plans to make use of foreign assistance?

[Moravcik] Foreign assitance should above all target the areas which we have highlighted as priorities. I have just listed them. I would like to draw attention to the problem areas. We have highlighted the financial infrastructure, which is very important to maintain a trouble-free inflow of foreign investment.

As for small and medium-sized business, the need to establish banks to guarantee credit in order to get the businesses off the ground has proved crucial.

Walesa Stresses Need for Cooperation With ROK

LD0906195293 Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—South Korean Foreign Minister Han Sung-chu, now on an official visit to Poland, met on Wednesday with President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, and headed a Korean delegation to plenary talks with Polish partners that ended in the signing of an agreement on cooperation in culture.

After the talks with the South Korean minister, President Lech Walesa stressed the need for economic cooperation between the two countries, and said that South Korea could enter the markets of the former Soviet Union countries through Poland.

Han Sung-chu and Hanna Suchocka discussed Poland's internal situation and the new electoral law. The Korean visitor promised the Polish prime minister to make efforts to encourage Korean businessmen to invest in Poland and to develop cooperation with Polish partners.

After the plenary talks, the Polish and South Korean foreign ministers announced the soon lifting of visa requirements and the setting up of a joint commission to supervise economic relations between the two countries.

Solidarity To Run in Elections Independently

LD1106104093 Warsaw PAP in English 1011 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—Solidarity will run in the forthcoming parliamentary elections individually, with its own national lists both to the Sejm (lower house) and the Senate, Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski said in an interview for the "Zet" radio station on Friday.

Final decisions on election tactics will be taken by the Solidarity congress scheduled for June 26-27. But even if the union achieves a success in the elections, which according to Krzaklewski would be at least 7 per cent of votes, the Solidarity does not want to struggle to seize power.

Krzaklewski said he expects that Solidarity activists will run in elections to the Sejm, while people from outside the union itself, such as experts, will try to win seats in the Senate.

The Solidarity chairman said he has not decided yet whether to run in the elections but he is ready to subordinate to the decision of the Solidarity National Commission and the congress.

RDR Leader Macierewicz on Election Strategy

WS0906134293 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Studio interview with Polish Action Chairman Antoni Macierewicz by program moderator Andrzej Woyciechowski from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] Your new title is chairman of the Movement for the Republic [RDR], is it not?

[Macierewicz] I would rather we spoke without official titles today. Speaking of our attitude toward the RDR and the Christian movement, the Polish Action [AP] is a Catholic national trend within the RDR. The RDR is a broad political formation containing different ideological trends within its framework, including our movement. I think that in the very near future we will be able to say that a very broad patriotic movement embracing different trends will stand against united leftist forces at the next elections.

[Woyciechowski] Are you speaking about a union of right-wing forces, about the program which has—quoting today's newspapers—been presented to the leaders of the largest parties? Also in today's press I read a report that in the next two days you will be anticipating a reply from Kaczynski, Parys, and other group representatives.

[Macierewicz] This is true. I believe that we will receive a reply in the very near future. Then we will be able to say that the independent patriotic camp will approach the elections consolidated.

[Woyciechowski] When will the electoral campaign begin in Poland, or has it already begun? If so, who started it?

[Macierewicz] That is a good question. I was pondering it after yesterday's Electoral Committee communique. From the point of view of the law, the campaign has already started, and time is flying. However, there is no Elections Law, because the Electoral Committee has submitted it to the Constitutional Court, using a specific procedure through the Supreme Court Chairman. The Constitutional Court has no other way to do this. This is why we are witnessing a period of legal suspense. The president's decision to dissolve the parliament has put everyone in a state of suspense. I am not sure whether this is the best way to hold an election campaign. Still, from the point of view of separate political groups, the campaign has already begun.

[Woyciechowski] Did it begin prematurely?

[Macierewicz] You are right. The worst thing is that the government has started it in the manner of those years that seemed gone for good. It has started off with police batons.

[Woyciechowski] Was this the government that started it, or the demonstrators gathering in Zamkowy Square?

[Macierewicz] This is interesting. Demonstrators gather at one place or another, as a rule. In this case, the only people who showed up at Zamkowy Square were those who were not informed and called off because of a lack of time. This is why I went there, in order to lead them on the sidewalks to the Trzech Krzyzy Square.

[Woyciechowski] Is the report that I have come across in one of today's papers true? It says that the organizers of the demonstration turned to the Radio Committee with a request to broadcast a communique about changing the route.

[Macierewicz] Of course this is true. This is as true as the fact that the police blocked the sidewalks, did not let people pass, and created an evident trap, most probably striving for a tragedy. There is no doubt about the provocative nature of the police actions. I am really quite surprised. I have lived long enough in Poland, also in the Polish People's Republic. Unwise officers who allow ministers of security or internal affairs to deploy them against demonstrators always bear the blame for these actions later. Gentlemen, this is a bad idea! Later you always pay for this.

[Woyciechowski] Speaking of demonstrations, you were interior minister yourself; you know the situation. Under what circumstances must the police intervene? When is the behavior of demonstrators sufficiently provocative for the police to intervene?

[Macierewicz] You are absolutely right. There are situations in which the police must intervene in different kinds of street actions. By no means did the situation at Zamkowy square call for police interference. Nobody was using force or blocking traffic. Everyone was willing to obey the leaders of the demonstration and move to another place. There was no threat to public order, no threat to stores and pedestrians. There was not even a shadow of justifying the brutal action ordered by Mr. Milczanowski.

[Woyciechowski] Let us go back to the united right. How realistic is the slogan? Will you manage to fulfill it before the elections, and who will join the RDR now supported by the Catholic Action?

[Macierewicz] You have been using the term united right. Of course, from the emotional point of view, the right has always been the torchbearer of patriotism. However, it is not good to limit this formula to pure rightist ideology. The problem is much broader, and we prefer to use the term the patriotic camp. Today, the division in specific ideological trends itself does not solve the problem. We must create a movement that would be above political and ideological interests, a movement capable of reaching average people who must make their choice: whether to live in Poland or in PRL-II [The Polish People's Republic-Phase II]. This issue will be solved in the coming elections.

[Woyciechowski] You have been using words like patriotic groupings. Who are these people? Are these the RDR and the Catholic Action? Can the Central Accord [PC] or the Movement for the Third Republic join it? What parties will join in?

[Macierewicz] This is really so. Yet, as I said a moment ago, we must rise above political schemes. We cannot limit ourselves to adding different parties and to a narrow party vision of the situation. The decisive role belongs to Solidarity. I have watched the Mazowsze congress with great interests. Its participants have put forward a problem of Solidarity forming a patriotic platform which can also be accepted by independence parties. This is not a question of parties. Perhaps the party point of view will not be the best one in these elections.

[Woyciechowski] If you do not want to talk about uniting with parties, does this mean that you are planning to woo individuals from Solidarity or the Christian National Union [ZChN]?

[Macierewicz] As far as the ZChN is concerned, my firm belief is that its place is with the RDR. This is undisputable. We all must find our place in this patriotic movement. I do not know whether the last bell tolls for ZChN activists. I have the impression that they have been deaf for quite some time now. The possibility always exists. However, I am not talking about winning over individuals; I do not want to break up other parties. We are now making final decisions. I do not think that we will have another chance if we lose these elections. A very important point of the elections will be the matter of using the privilege of dividing the Polish citizens into two unequal parts—those who can be elected without collecting votes, and those who will be selected through the procedure of collecting them. Someone recently said with the subtlety typical of the current government officials that the main issue is how to prevent the mouse of the opposition from gnawing through the net of the Elections Law. Thus, it has become clear that the Elections Law is meant to deprive the opposition of any chances. We will see whether the opposition will have a chance. The attitude toward using the police in situations like the one that we discussed; the attitude toward the Elections Law, and toward the economic reform that will clear the way for real privatization and not suspicious swindles, the attitude toward pensions and unemployment—these are the issues to be discussed at the next elections, and everyone will have to express his stance on them.

[Woyciechowski] What are the grounds of your conflict with Romaszewski and Piesiewicz? Why have they begun threatening you with their withdrawal from the RDR the moment you joined it?

[Macierewicz] This is a misunderstanding. There is no such conflict between myself and Piesiewicz, and much less so with Zbigniew Romaszewski, with whom I have been close friends for many years. Besides, none of them is threatening me with their withdrawal. Romaszewski has sent a very important letter to the RDR congress, dealing with the problem of electing deputies to the congress. I do not know anything about the conflict with Piesiewicz. I talked to him on Sunday at the congress, and did not hear any threats.

[Woyciechowski] Is there a chance that a right-wing party will appear in Poland, uniting Olszewski, Macierewicz, Kaczynski, and Parys?

[Macierewicz] Yes, of course. Such a formation is possible. Moreover, it is real and necessary.

[Woyciechowski] What results of the elections is the RDR anticipating? What are its chances in the elections?

[Macierewicz] If our presence in the parliament is to be marginal and symbolic, I will be happy to give up my seat to someone else, because that will be a waste of time. Sitting in the Sejm, being present at the Sejm, means nothing if one has no influence on the situation of the people, the situation in the country, if someone can only act as figurehead. This is both dull and a waste of time and effort, which can be used in other spheres of life.

[Woyciechowski] When can a party influence the Sejm—when it has 20, 30, or 50 percent of seats?

[Macierewicz] Undoubtedly, having 30 percent of seats makes it possible to influence political life, also in the Sejm.

[Woyciechowski] Whom will the Catholic Church support in the elections?

[Macierewicz] This question is frequently asked, although it contains an evident misunderstanding of the church's mission. What is church? It is all of us. We will support the patriotic camp. The Church is a structure that has its hierarchy and the rank and file. I think that you are asking about the Church's hierarchy. I think that it will support the groups based on the Catholic social science. I think that the place of this science in our economic reform is very essential to the Church hierarchy and to all of us. So far, this aspect has been ignored and primitive liberalism has ruled.

[Woyciechowski] Thus, whom will the Catholic church authorities support—the ZChN or the RDR?

[Macierewicz] I do not think that this is the option. I want to say this over again: the church will support the groups aware of Poland's needs, the groups that approach the socioeconomic reforms from the point of view of Christian social science.

PSL Chairman Pawlak on Election Prospects

WS0906141093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Studio interview with Polish Peasant Party (PSL) Chairman Wlodzimierz Pawlak by program moderator Andrzej Woyciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] How is life without the Sejm? Is political life dull without it?

[Pawlak] Political life is not dull without the Sejm today. All the politicians are preoccupied with the elections and preparations for entering the new Sejm. Thus, the nature of their activity has changed. Now, it is more like working out of town and cultivating direct contacts with the electorate.

[Woyciechowski] Does this mean that the PSL has begun its election campaign and that it is engaged in agitation?

[Pawlak] This has occurred a natural way. When the Sejm was dissolved we were beginning celebrations of the People's Holiday, which is always observed in June. In a natural way, this has become the beginning of the election campaign.

[Woyciechowski] Do people at the meetings ask you the same question as they ask in Warsaw cafes? Why have the PSL and Pawlak caused parliament's dissolution, having rejected the post of Suchocka's deputy prime minister? Do people ask you this question, or is this discussed in Warsaw alone?

[Pawlak] First, we did not discuss concrete things at the negotiations. Besides, the situation is becoming strange. A Solidarity government emerged last year—that of the Democratic Union [UD], the Christian National Union [ZChN], and the Liberal Congress. Then Solidarity came up with a no-confidence vote on the government. In the end, everything has been blamed on the PSL. I do not see a relationship between these things. I think that if there was more of a will to compromise prior to the dissolution in issues like privatization, the budget and a couple of other decrees in which the government refused to back down even one inch, concrete talks and a compromise would have been easier to achieve. At the last moment, there were temptations. However, they were backward and incredible.

[Woyciechowski] Although this happened long ago, and history's flywheel has gathered momentum since, let me ask this question for history, for the following generations: Is this true that the tempting proposal mentioned by you was the post of prime minister?

[Pawlak] There was no such proposal, not in the talks with me. Our talks were not that material.

[Woyciechowski] In hindsight, was the Sejm's dissolution a good decision?

[Pawlak] I think that from the point of view of evolution and social processes, this was a right thing to do. Political time is now running faster, the political scenery is being changed, new parties are cropping up, and new situations are arising. Society also wants to have the chance to evaluate the people authorized to hold seats in the parliament. This is why I think that the new elections will be the first since the beginning of the time of substantive changes in which people will deal with already known parties. Thus, the choice will be easier to make. In my opinion, the new Elections Law will result in some 10 candidate lists. Some nine electoral committees will be relieved of collecting signatures. I do not think that any new parties will appear, because collecting

signatures is extremely difficult in the majority of electoral districts. As we know, a large number of electoral committees made it to the lists, having won signatures in five voivodships. At the same time, we did not receive signatures in three or four voivodships alone. Yet, it cost us a lot of effort, and times were different then—people were willing to grant active political support. I do not think that people will take much interest in politics now, especially during vacation season.

[Woyciechowski] Today, when we ask politicians, everybody says that this was a good move, that Poland needs elections today. All those who say that they want elections are counting on better results in these elections than in the previous ones. However, someone must lose. Who will lose the elections?

[Pawlak] We will know soon—in September. Defeat in an election is a natural political phenomenon, which cannot be ruled out. I think that the new elections will facilitate a better balance on the political scene and a better situation in the Sejm. There will be fewer clubs, while the clubs themselves will be stronger, and efficient functioning in the Sejm will be easier.

[Woyciechowski] Is the PSL planning to start alone or form some kind of coalition with one of the parties? Is it planning to participate in the presidential reformatory coalition and win the president's support, or not?

[Pawlak] Our current concept is to start alone under the PSL banner. However, our lists will be open to the people who do not belong to the PSL, but who are cooperating with us on an everyday basis and are members of the popular movement in its broad sense. Thus, candidate lists will be open to the people who have managed to show that they can cooperate with us. I believe that this concept will create flexibility within different electoral districts.

[Woyciechowski] Whom will the president support in the elections?

[Pawlak] The president spoke in general about the reformatory coalition. However, I do not see a clearcut reformatory coalition now. There were declarations that such a bloc would be formed by the government coalition. But right now, this is unlikely.

[Woyciechowski] What does the elections campaign in the country look like? Are the PSL and the Peasant Accord the only rivals? Are big parliamentary parties the Central Accord, the UD, and the Alliance of Democratic Left present there?

[Pawlak] At the forefront are, first of all, parties connected with rural areas, while others are somewhat less visible. However, judging by the results of the previous elections, there is a chance that the situation will be repeated, which would mean that some parties will enjoy strong support in the country.

[Woyciechowski] The president declared a couple of days ago that the representative of the party that wins the largest number of seats in the parliament will be nominated prime minister. Will the PSL be this party?

[Pawlak] I think this will become clear after the 19 September elections. We will see.

[Woyciechowski] Public opinion polls show that the PSL has very high rating.

[Pawlak] Opinion polls are nice, but we have had opportunities to see that opinion polls have no direct relation to the results of elections. This was demonstrated both during presidential and parliamentary elections. I think that we should not treat opinion polls too seriously—they are not a true reflection of what will happen on 19 September. These are dynamic processes, and different trends should be taken into account.

[Woyciechowski] You have said that new, powerful parties are not likely to emerge, and that the post-election situation will resemble the one before the Sejm's dissolution—eight or nine large parties faced with the need to forge a coalition. What parties will the PSL ally with—the center and rightist ones? Several days ago, PC leader Kaczynski said his party, RdR [Movement for the Polish Republic], and the rest of their allies would seek support from the PSL.

[Pawlak] We have no allergy to any political grouping, and assume that each party that won sizable support in the election should be treated as a serious partner. There may be different directions of cooperation. Of course, we would like to see this cooperation focus on reaching specific goals. One is supposed to have a practical approach to politics, based on hard facts and devoid of any ideology, so everything will depend on the final outcome. One will have to form a new government with whatever fabric that is manufactured by the elections. In this respect, the PSL is often criticized for its enigmatic attitude. This may be explained by perhaps a slightly different perception of politics. As for our economic views, they are firm and clearcut....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Some say that they are antireformist.

[Pawlak] We will come back to this in a second. However, when it comes to relations with the Church, we believe that this sphere should be free of politics. We should strive to get people of all backgrounds, cultures, and faiths involved in a common endeavor, leaving everyone with a free choice in this sphere. This is why the PSL is often misunderstood when these matters become a topic of political debates. Now, let us get back to the economy. The notion of reform includes both socialist and antisocialist slogans. The reasoning here is the same: only those who are with us are reformers; the rest are against the reform. Only, they cannot explain in plain words what their reforms are all about. Even Mr. [Milton] Friedman does not approve of the revolutionary ideas that were forced into our economy recently, considering them a far cry from liberalism—an opinion which we also share. We are faithful to more

traditional approaches in tackling economic issues—the ones that yield positive results and carry no new ideology. We do not agree with the fact that, for example, national investment funds are exempt from popiwek [tax on excessive income] and the income tax, while a similar enterprise—a state-treasury-owned partnership, for example—must pay those taxes. This is reminiscent of a socialist economy, and not a capitalist one.

[Woyciechowski] In other words, you are saying "yes" to reforms, but one should not go overboard? Meanwhile, the reform also affects the rural areas, calling for creation of a Western-style infrastructure and the elimination of small, 3- to 10-hectare farms. Will the PSL agree to this?

[Pawlak] The fundamental question is whether there is such a need at all. We overlook the fact that Western agriculture is diverging from heavily concentrated farming. Their farming has been excessively profit-oriented, utilizing land, animals, and manpower beyond capacity. This has finally backfired in the form of environmental damage and tasteless food that is even hazardous to people's health. They are currently moving toward organic farming. So is there such a need? As yet, no wise book has advised that about five percent of the Polish population should live and work in agriculture. And maybe if we leave 15 percent, they will successfully produce organic food? No tragedy will happen from the point of view both of the state and of the society. The present farming equipment and transportation network may allow farmers to combine farming with food processing or trade. So, I see no need whatsoever to pacify the country in the nearest future. We should ensure conditions for adept entrepreneurs so that they can run their businesses successfully. We should pursue this strategy, and not see reducing the rural population to five percent of the total population as some historically conditioned necessity.

[Woyciechowski] The PSL has practically always been an opposition party. Will it remain one in the next Sejm, or will it enter a coalition government and govern Poland together with other parties?

[Pawlak] It is worth reminding that the first Solidarity-spawned government was formed thanks to former ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party]. If at that time, the Mazowiecki government had accepted the idea of teamwork on a partnership basis, it would have lasted much longer and not have wandered into so many dead-end streets. As for the Olszewski government, it was put together thanks to the PSL votes, although we did not enter it. However, we have never supported any cabinet just for the fun of power-wielding, but to have them work efficiently and improve the economic situation of the state and the society. When a government stopped its activities or worked ineptly, we did not deem it worthy of support. Thus, the PSL acted both in the opposition and in the government alignment, which allowed it to accumulate versatile experience. We know all the realities and constraints. The last moves of the government have shown that sometimes it is possible to do something without special decrees and powers.

[Woyciechowski] Do you mean the order to stamp imported tobacco articles?

[Pawlak] This and the border tax replaced with the duty as well. The stamping law could have been enacted half a year ago. The problem is, however, that it was submitted to the Sejm along with the mass privatization program. While the privatization bill was processed on the accelerated legislative basis, rotating through the Sejm twice, the stamping legislation was stuck there. Now, one can clearly see that where there's a will, there's a way.

[Woyciechowski] I hear you praising the Suchocka government for the first time.

[Pawlak] People should be praised for their good deeds, even though it may sometimes sound like the words of an old lady who, after she missed the train, said: Better late than never. There are other things that the government might do. For example, Mr. Rokita, who established a communications network to receive information from voivodships, might want to share his experience with customs officials. By putting the customs system in order, it would score one more point. This could also prevent the kind of situations that we had last year, when the NBP [National Polish Bank] reported a 500-million-zloty budget surplus, while the GUS [Main Statistics Office] announced a 2.5-billion-zloty deficit. Such a huge discrepancy proves that structural changes still have a lot of potential, which requires neither Western funds nor their consultants.

Minister Defends Police Actions at Demonstration

AU1106084093 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Jun 93 p 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski by Jerzy Jachowicz and Ela Milewicz; place and date not given: "Certain Situations Are on Our Doorstep"]

[Text] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] Before 4 June, did you issue the police with instructions on dealing with the demonstrating supporters of the Movement for the Republic [RdR], Center Accord [PC], and Polish Action [AP] in Warsaw?

[Milczanowski] No. The police performs its routine duties in such situations.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] You did not discuss this at all with police chief Smolarek?

[Milczanowski] Between Smolarek, Warsaw police chief Mikusinski, and me there were certain talks on controlling the demonstration.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Did you decide that it was possible to beat demonstrators with truncheons and push them about brutally?

[Milczanowski] I think the police behaved in a correct manner. The police are entitled to use reasonable force. The kind of force to be used is always decided at the scene of an incident.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Have you any criticism to make about the police or yourself concerning the police's behavior at the Friday [4 June] demonstration?

[Milczanowski] No, nothing.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Well, how do you know what happened there?

[Milczanowski] From written reports and film and sound footage produced by Interior Ministry functionaries. I read the reports and spoke to those who supervised the police action. Of course I also watched television and read the reports in the press.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you know that some of the people who filmed the demonstration also filmed demonstrations for the Security Service during martial law?

[Milczanowski] Maybe.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The police brutally apprehended a chance passer-by just because he had picked up a leaflet. A journalist saved him.

[Milczanowski] I have already heard two versions of that story. It is quite easy to spread unverified reports in Poland.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Perhaps it is not the second version. Perhaps there were more situations like that?

[Milczanowski] You write about police brutality, but you say nothing about the fact that the gathering on Castle Square was illegal. The organizers received permission to lead a rally from Three Crosses Square to Bagatela Street. Even so, we allowed groups of people to proceed down Krakowskie Przedmiescie and Nowy Swiat streets, but only on the sidewalk, not in the roadway. What else can the police do but force demonstrators away from places where they are not supposed to demonstrate? My policemen were prodded with umbrellas and hit with trash cans. Stones flew at them. They cannot be considered infallible. Maybe one of them made a mistake.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So how do you think things happened the way they did?

[Milczanowski] The film footage shows demonstrators acting violently not only toward policemen, but also toward chance passers-by. I saw no cases of policemen attacking defenseless people.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Of course not. Why should a policeman film police attacks on defenseless people for the benefit of his chief, in other words you?

[Milczanowski] There is no basis for doubting the integrity of my officers. However, after reading the Friday and Saturday press, I have reason to doubt the integrity of some journalists.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] From which papers in particular?

[Milczanowski] From GAZETA WYBORCZA, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, RZECZPOSPOLITA.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] TRYBUNA appeals to you?

[Milczanowski] It seems to me that its reporting was objective.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] All right then, let us quote from TRYBUNA: "The aggressive crowd escaped inside St. Anne's Church close by. The scene was reminiscent of the 1980's." Are you not upset by the Interior Ministry being likened to the old Security Service? Did all the newspapers conspire against the Interior Ministry?

[Milczanowski] What do you know of a journalist's responsibility for what he writes? If I read in GAZETA WYBORCZA on page one the headline "The Office for the Protection of the State [UOP] Attacks by Night," followed by reports on a violent confiscation of posters and on cars driving over these posters lying on the pavement, and not until page two do I see any mention of the contents of the posters slandering the state authorities, I ask you, is that objective reporting?

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] It is. We reported what the demonstration's organizing committee had said. We asked UOP spokesman Irena Popoff to comment. She replied that she had nothing to say. And that is what we reported. Perhaps you should replace your spokesman instead of picking on the press?

[Milczanowski] My job is not to appeal to journalists, but to carry out my statutory duties.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] And it is not the job of the press to appeal to ministers but to watch their actions, especially when the Sejm has been dissolved and the government no longer has control over deputies?

[Milczanowski] I repeat, my officers put a stop to the criminal activity that was going on. GAZETA WYBORCZA described this as a sign of the degeneration of the security apparatus in Poland. But what can one expect police officers to do? Tear down the antipresidential posters themselves? All over the world the police reacts firmly whenever the head of state is attacked or ministers insulted or when the organizers of demonstrations do not honor their pledges.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] We are not the "whole world," minister. Only a few years ago we had here the ZOMO [Mechanized Civic Militia Units], the militia, water cannon, and the beating of demonstrators.

[Milczanowski] Even a child in elementary school knows what a poster confiscated by the UOP contains when he sees one. Is the police supposed to stand and watch while people accuse each other of being agents? Am I supposed to quietly appeal for peace when anti-Semitic slogans are shouted in the streets?

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The first time we heard the president being accused of being an agent was last year, from the lips of Kazimierz Switon, during a Sejm session broadcast all over Poland. Perhaps you should have reacted then?

[Milczanowski] That was not my business, but the prosecutor general's.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] And did the prosecutor apply to revoke Deputy Switon's parliamentary immunity?

[Milczanowski] I am not sure.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Did you inform the prime minister of the police's conduct on 4 June?

[Milczanowski] I saw no reason to do so. She has more important things on her mind.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] And did you communicate with the Belvedere?

[Milczanowski] Why should I? I am paid to make decisions.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] And do you assume responsibility for your own words? Several days ago, television showed you conveying nameday greetings to the president. You said to him you would present him with the criminal Baranowski, head of the Westa insurance company.

[Milczanowski] This is exactly what I said to a narrow group of people, albeit in the presence of television cameras: "In addition, and I mean this to be a joke, I would like to present the president with Baranowski." The phrase "and I mean this to be a joke" was deleted.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] During the strikes last summer, you did not want to send in the police against the workers occupying the factory in Tychy. Is that right?

[Milczanowski] Yes. I said I would not obey an instruction to send in the police against workers. I was even prepared to resign.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] And?

[Milczanowski] People thought I was trying to avoid responsibility.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Why did you not use the police then, but you did last Friday?

[Milczanowski] Because I deal with striking workers one way, and violent demonstrators who break the law another way. Wait and see, certain situations will suddenly materialize on the doorsteps of journalists and politicians. Your pseudo-objectivism will finish you off. I believe that wrongdoing has to be called by its proper name.

Melescanu Leaves for Athens NATO Meeting

AU1006152993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1402 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/6/1993—State Minister Teodor Melescanu, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, left on June 10 for Athens, to attend the meeting of the North-Atlantic Cooperation Council, held at a foreign minister level.

Minister Melescanu highlighted before leaving the importance of the meeting "in the context of the Yugoslav crisis, of NATO preoccupations about a way to help solving the crisis and, especially, of very important talks regarding the participation of the countries in Central Europe, Romania included, in NATO activities." "I believe," Melescanu opined, "it will be a meeting in which these countries' sensitiveness will be probably more considered, thinking that our host, Greece, is a country that shows great sensitiveness as regards the problems of the states in the region."

Opposition Group Leaves Parliament Session

AU1006191793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] The afternoon joint meeting of the two parliamentary chambers ended with a new incident that occurred during the discussions regarding the draft decision on the organization and operation of the joint standing commission for parliamentary control over the activity of the Romanian Intelligence Service.

Discussing the ways of exerting this parliamentary control, FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] Senator Gheorghe Dumitrascu asked for permission to take the floor. He emphasized, quote: As long as these rightists do not take over power in this country, this state will exist and we have to defend it, unquote.

This statement generated loud protests on behalf of the opposition parliamentary groups, which left the hall despite appeals by Mr. Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies, who pleaded for calm and asked Senator Gheorghe Dumitrascu to apologize.

Immediately afterward, an ad hoc news conference was organized in the Press Hall with journalists during which the representatives of all opposition parliamentary groups condemned the statement made by the FDSN senator and the statement made by PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] Senator Adrian Paunescu, who also made a similar statement.

The representatives of the opposition said that they would not participate in the Parliament meetings unless measures are taken against the extremist statements by some of the parliamentarians.

In a statement made exclusively for our radio station, Mr. Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies, expressed regrets for what happened during the joint meeting and emphasized that the statement by Senator Gheorghe Dumitrascu is at variance with the principles of parliamentary activity. He also specified that the situation that has been created is a matter that belongs to the competence of the commissions for discipline and immunities of the two Parliament chambers.

Our correspondent also reported that in the first part of the joint Parliament meeting this afternoon, the deputies and senators established and adopted the final version of disputed texts following the nonapproval by the Senate of texts proposed by the mediation commission to the draft bill regarding taxes for import and domestic products and tax on domestic crude oil and natural gas.

Faction Leaders Make Statements

AU1006193993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1928 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Organized ad hoc in the journalists' hall, a news conference was held during which the opposition parliamentary group leaders categorically protested the statements made by Senator Gheorghe Dumitrascu.

After the news conference, I asked Senator Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, to make an exclusive statement for our radio station in connection with this incident.

[Begin Coposu recording] What has happened in the past few days in Romania's Parliament is intolerable. Recently, there has been armed aggression [Vadim Tudor's bodyguards carry weapons] against a Romanian parliamentarian. Some abnormal things have been uttered that cannot be tolerated or overlooked. This attitude that belittles the civilized standard of the Romanian Parliament has to be curbed by all means.

If regulations are not applied and all those who disturb and sabotage the Parliament activity will not be removed, then we have to draw the conclusion that this Parliament no longer includes decent and logical people who want to serve their homeland.

This is why I have imperatively demanded that all these disorderly and irresponsible attitudes be punished so that parliamentary discussions may continue. [end recording]

Deputy Petre Roman, leader of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) and the leader of this parliamentary group in the Chamber of Deputies, said:

[Begin Roman recording] This fact as such, which follows from the statements made by Messrs. Adrian Paunescu and Gheorghe Dumitrascu, is that in one way or another, it was quite clear that they do not desire this parliamentary control over SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service].

First there was Adrian Paunescu in a mild populist form and then Mr. Dumitrascu in an aggressive form who expressed exactly this idea: Parliamentary control over

SRI means that this will finally endanger national security and the Romanian state. [end recording]

Deputy Ioan Gavra, leader of the parliamentary group of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] in the Chamber of Deputies, in turn said:

[Begin Gavra recording] Unfortunately, the deterioration of the situation in Romania's Parliament is lately more and more alarming. Unfortunately, political violence, political intolerance, and political exclusivism have become ordinary events in Romania's Parliament.

Both the political rightists and the political leftists in Romania are guilty of this situation in Romania's Parliament. We, the PUNR, as a center party disapprove of such manifestations and shows in Romania's Parliament. We will issue a communique to express our view about this political violence in Romania's Parliament. Our patience has been excessively stretched and consequently we will demand early elections. [end recording]

The president of the Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Adrian Nastase, chaired today's joint meeting of the two Parliament chambers and we asked him for his opinion about the incident that interrupted the joint meeting.

[Begin Nastase recording] Today's meetings, because we worked—I am talking about the Chamber of Deputies—in the morning too, probably caused great stress for some of the parliamentarians. In addition—if I may joke under such circumstances—the air conditioning in the hall did not operate either. Thus the atmosphere—at a given point—became heated and, in my opinion—despite the friendly feelings for Senator Dumitrascu—I have to say that he made a mistake. He made certain affirmations that are normally not made in Parliament, and thus he created a difficult situation for examining a subject that is quite sensitive in itself.

From this point of view, I intervened by withdrawing the floor and specifying that I would permit him to speak only if he apologized. He continued to say a few words but in fact he did not apologize, which, I think, would have done a lot of good. Certainly, he was probably carried away by a certain elan and pathos, which has no positive effect in Parliament where speeches have to be more balanced. Therefore, this situation was created in which the opposition Parliament members walked out of the hall. We interrupted the meeting for 10 minutes. Then the leader of the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] parliamentary group leader in the Senate, Mr. Vasile Vacaru, presented the point of view of this parliamentary group and the entire party, which proved a clearcut dissociation between the position of this party and the personal viewpoint expressed by Senator Dumitrascu.

[Reporter] In your opinion, how can this very tense situation be defused?

[Nastase] Each one assumes responsibilities when he speaks in Parliament or outside it. Some of the responsibilities are of a moral nature, while others have disciplinary consequences. Our regulations include certain sanctions. The one that can intervene in such a situation is the Discipline Commission that can judge whether the given conduct may be qualified as normal or at variance with parliamentary conduct.

[Reporter] This Disciplinary Commission is also investigating a sensitive situation that occurred not very long ago in Parliament also during a joint meeting.

[Nastase] That was not during a joint meeting, but outside the hall in the Parliament corridors. However, undoubtedly, procedures have to be respected and competence has to be observed despite nervousness, which is normal especially at a time when we have to do so much. I think that we have to loudly affirm that we want a normal and civilized atmosphere in Parliament. We have to exclude—and this is my personal opinion, I repeat my personal opinion—thus, we have to exclude such conduct from Romania's Parliament. After all, this is Parliament and not a musical comedy. [end recording]

Nastase Condemns Senator's Statements

AU1006194393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1403 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/6/1993—In the first part of the June 10 sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, Speaker Adrian Nastase deplored the incident of the evening before caused by a statement made by Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] Senator Gheorghe Dumitrascu that, with the right in power, there would be no Romanian state. Speaker Adrian Nastase assessed that such behaviour "deteriorates the image of the Parliament with public opinion," which must in no way be omitted. The speaker of the Chamber of Deputies said that "any party represented in the Parliament is capable of being in power in our country, based on the electorate's vote." All deputies were seriously urged to be cooperative and avoid the traps of minor, secondary matters, so as to focus on the substance of the legislative process. Adrian Nastase reiterated the necessity of decency and dialogue in the collaboration between the majority and the opposition.

In behalf of the Democratic National Salvation Front, Dan Martian expressed "official regret" and flat dissociation from the words uttered by Senator G. Dumitrascu, and unequivocally expressed the FDSN's attachment to the institutions of the state of law and, in that respect, to parliamentary pluralism, to political pluralism generally. "The FDSN means due respect to the opposition," concluded the leader of the FDSN Parliamentary Group in the Chamber of Deputies.

PL-1993, PAC Want To Isolate PNTCD

AU0906130493 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 7 Jun 93 p 3

[R.F. note: "Fierce Confrontations Within the Democratic Convention of Romania"]

[Text] At the last meeting of the leadership of the Democratic Convention of Romania, the Liberal Party-1993 [PL-1993] and the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] demanded that Messrs. Nicolae Cerveni, president of the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD] and Otto Weber, president of the Romanian Ecology Party [PER] be removed from the decision making forum of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. Several CDR leaders see this request as an attempt of the PL-1993 and the PAC to isolate the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] within the CDR. It is known that both Mr. Nicolae Cerveni and Mr. Otto Weber are Mr. Corneliu Coposu's [PNTCD president] allies. With the removal of the two politicians, the PNTCD will be left with two votes less, something that will balance out the decisionmaking authority within the CDR, which is currently held by the PNTCD, and also prepare the admission of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD(FSN)] in the CDR. In this respect, one should point out that Messrs. Cerveni and Weber are opposed to the PD(FSN)'s joining the CDR.

Demonstrators Protest Tiraspol Trial

AU1106115493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] The daily ROMANIA LIBER and the Anastasia Foundation organized an event entitled Cage Generic in Bucharest today to protest the oppression to which the Romanians in Tiraspol are subjected.

At approximately 1000 [0700 GMT] political, cultural, and artistic figures, as well as numerous demonstrators gathered in the Revolution Square. Shortly after, Messrs. Corneliu Coposu, Dan Grigore, Emil Tocaci, Alexandru Popovici, Stefan Radon, and Priest Mehedintu of Coltea Church entered a cage placed on a platform, which depicts the conditions under which the Tiraspol trial is taking place.

Addressing the crowd, Mr. Corneliu Coposu said, quote: Freedom has to be respected everywhere and beyond the strategic maneuvers of the great powers, unquote.

In University Square, where this event continued, the place of those in the cage was then taken by Messrs. Ion Ratiu, Stelian Tanase, Otto Weber, Ion Diaconescu, Gabriel Tepelea, and Calin Anastasiu.

The participants in this event chanted: Bucharest-Chisinau, may God help us; we want justice, not staged trials, as well as antipresidential, anticommunist, and promonarchist slogans. The demonstrators then marched along the Magheru Boulevard where, in front of Intercontinental Hotel, Mr. Ion Ratiu said that the only guilt of the Tiraspol detainees is that of being good Romanians. What is happening there is a crime and imposture.

In front of Scala Movie Theater, those who were in the cage left it and their place was taken by Mrs. Simona Mezincescu and Messrs. Alexandru Paleologu, Stefan Augustin Doinas, Mircea Ionescu-Quintus; Valentin Uritescu, and Priest Justin Martis.

Continuing along Romana Square, Ana Ipatescu Boulevard, and Victory Square, the demonstrators stopped in front of the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Bucharest where a protest document was read against the Tiraspol trial.

At this time, the demonstrators are heading for the Arch of Triumph.

Television Trade Union Leader Discusses Issues

AU1106113093 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with television trade union leader Dumitru Iuga by Liviu Tudor Samuila; place and date not given: "The Strike Was a Complete Success"]

[Text] [Samuila] Mr. Iuga, after years of political detention during Ceausescu's time, are you all hardened?

[Iuga] God forbid! I cannot do harm to anyone. I am, however, intolerant toward people who do not admit the moral wrongs of which they are guilty. We who have suffered in prisons do not want to seek revenge; what we want, however, is that those who have done wrong—because history proves that they have done wrong—to admit their mistakes. This confession would make them feel more at ease and it would make us forgive them. Here in television, I know very well the people who used to chase us before 1989, the then zealots and collaborators of the Securitate. But none of them can say that I have ever hurt them in any way or threatened them for that matter. I have behaved and will continue to behave the same way toward all people even if none of them have owned up to their mistakes; on the contrary, many of them have "freed" themselves and call themselves "dissidents".... I want it to be clear that my exoneration does not include those whose hands are stained with the innocent blood of the martyrs who disappeared in camps, prisons, dungeons, and unmarked graves in out-of-the-way forests and plains! These people have to pay for it! I do have understanding for people who committed wrongs out of a spirit of conservatism or because of cowardice generated by fear of suffering and detention, which would have endangered the destiny of their families. Such abused minds were everywhere, including the television.

[Samuila] Mr. Iuga, how was the Free Trade Union born?

[Iuga] It was a natural reaction by the people in this institution who were bearing the brunt of the decades of lies depicted by themselves—whether they liked it or not—on the television screen. Radio and television were the "Scanteia" [spark] of Romanian communism! Aside from a few important people who diabolically guided the process of abusing the national conscience, the great majority of employees were humiliated, hurt, and forced to carry out these activities. The Free Trade Union was the fountain to which they turned to atone for their sins and to reveal the true facet of their conscience tortured by the tumor of a dreadful truth, namely that the radio-television and Securitate were the main instruments by means of which totalitarian communism abused the national conscience of the Romanian people. As a matter of fact, I am convinced that such permutations took place even among the ranks of the gray eminences of the Securitate. Actually, it would be tragic if this would not happen, because one cannot conceive of a state without a properly organized security system. But, similar to the radio-television, I am convinced that a hidden struggle is being waged between the former and the rudimentary servants and the young, intelligent, and sophisticated wing of the security system.

[Samuila] When did the split in the Free Trade Union occur?

[Iuga] When the revolution was confiscated by the current executive power.

[Samuila] How many members did this trade union number at the beginning?

[Iuga] More than 300 coming from among the ranks of the studio and mobile reportage staffs. After two to three weeks there was a boom in the membership—90 percent of the personnel of this institution joined our union. Once, however, SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], the Army, and Parliament consolidated their power, and following the humiliation and persecution of the opposition parties and students' movement, the trade union split also occurred. And again there was fear, suspicion, and a spirit of conservatism, and again the game of fast and... "apolitical" interests appeared.

There were slanderous stories about me; I was accused of having organized the famous invasion of the television and thus the Free Trade Union split and the current multitude of trade unions emerged.

[Samuila] How many trade unions are there in the television today?

[Iuga] I am embarrassed to answer this question! But we have surely made it into the "Book of Records," because we have 21 trade unions for 5,200 people! Our union totals more than 1,350 members and is followed by the trade union for the unity of the television and that of the mobile reportage staffs. The one that holds place 21 is illegal because it has less than 15 members. We have a single common point: salary claims.

[Samuila] This being how things stand, was the recent strike a victory, defeat, or inconclusive?

[Iuga] A victory, the way it began because all trade unions joined it. I personally view this strike as a complete success which I never dared imagine given the diverse interests which have led to the multitude of trade unions in the Romanian television. To paralyze the normal program of the television and radio for three days and to cancel the second television program was an extraordinary thing!

[Samuila] Thus let us sum up. The first demand was the salary claim. Then the adjustment of the collective labor contract to the national level, and the third demand was the one regarding the solution of certain questions of competence and moral probity in the administrative structures.

[Iuga] Please note that the last one was raised later and did not come from the Free Trade Union!

[Samuila] Thus, will salaries increase?

[Iuga] Absolutely. The third point, however, is the most sensitive one because the Administration Council assumed certain prerogatives which it never had. Approximately 45 people in radio and television are actually figureheads and do nothing but obstruct this council. They have neither the interest, nor the capability or training to do anything. We demand that this situation be eliminated!

[Samuila] And if this is not done?

[Iuga] The conflict is still open and it can be relaunched any time!

[Samuila] And yet, what was the cause for suddenly interrupting the strike?

[Iuga] Television viewers, the masses were not prepared to understand that the radio and television people are earning a miserable salary under very difficult and exhausting working conditions, being constantly under pressure and exposed to irritations; they have to travel to areas that may threaten their health (the death rate and diseases are their greatest dowry). This is why we preferred to spare our people further tension because, as it is, they have to cope with shortages, price hikes, unemployment, poverty, corruption, thefts, burglaries, and terrible crimes!

Report Views Progress in Land Privatization

AU1106093293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0741 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/6/1993—According to data from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, four million people were given land until July 1993, in consequence of the application of the Land Law passed about two years ago by Parliament, i.e. 81.85 percent of those meeting the requirements of the law. Out of the

said four million only 270,000 people received title deeds and procedures were in a final phase for another 199,000. 8.29 hectares were passed to private hands from a total of 9.129 hectares destined to. [sentence as received]

The allotment of land and the issuance of land certificates was completed in the counties of Constanta, Prahova, Ialomita and Galati. In Bucharest 86.13 percent of the land destined to this was passed to private owners. 2,512 title deeds were issued there and 10,000 will soon be issued.

Executives in the Ministry of Agriculture said that local commissions were responsible for delays in writing reports, issuing title deeds and solving contentions.

Situation, Prospects of Mining Sector Outlined

AU1106093593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0818 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/6/1993—Romania's coal, metallic and non-metallic ore resources, estimated by geological researchers at some 120,000,000 tonnes, which is considered enough to ensure production for 20-100 years, stated engineer Ion Gafdeac, a secretary of state and head of the Mining Department, in an interview printed in the daily MERIDIAN. [sentence as received]

Only these assertions are giving enough reason for the fact that Romania's economy cannot and must not give up exploitation of its domestic resources. The scenario invoked lately by "a united chorus of politicians" and even of "experts" in economy, passioned by "mineriades" [miners' incursions] that are predicting "an end to the Romanian mining," is contradicted by a series of evidences whose scientific foundation cannot be contested. In Romania there do exist a real market for useful mineral components: 42 percent of the electric power in Romania relies on coal. From a total of 45 million tonnes of coal annually used in the economy, even if some 76 exhausted productive units were closed, some 40 million tonnes of coal would be extracted in 1993 (some 21 million tonnes less than in 1989). If only uranium extraction units are to be closed, Romania will need to double investments. By closing the mining infrastructure—46 mines, 111 mining units, 57 processing units, six mining autonomous corporations and 52 commercial companies at a country level—more than a quarter million of the people would face unemployment.

In addition, even if mining is considered by some as nonprofitable, foreign investments are increasing in number in Romania. So, only for the rehabilitation of technological lines for drop-out, transport and waste storage at the Tirgu-Jiu brown coal autonomous corporation, a 27 million dollars credit was granted, and several German companies are contemplating to invest between 50 to 70 million dollars on a Hermes line, half of the amount will be used for the building of mining equipment.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 11 June
WA1106161993

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

British UN forces kill two Croats after attacks on aid convoy ... Muslims, Croats reportedly ignoring cease-fire ... Tuzla authorities threaten to use chemical agents to defend city ... Macedonia agrees to accept U.S. troops ... Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian presidents to meet next week in Geneva ... Croatian Prime Minister Valentic says UN mandate might not be extended.

MILITARY

BRITISH FORCES KILL TWO CROATS (AFP): British UN forces kill two Croats after Croatian forces repeatedly attacked 500-truck private humanitarian aid convoy, killing nine Muslim drivers. Convoy was delivering aid to Travnik under terms of a Muslim-Croat cease-fire. British Army spokesman says Croatian attacks were "orchestrated affair" during which Croatian women blocked convoy while Croatian forces assaulted Muslim drivers. (AU1106102593)

MUSLIMS, CROATS IGNORE CEASE-FIRE (Zagreb Radio, Sarajevo Radio): Clashes between Muslims, Croats reportedly continuing despite signing of cease-fire. Sarajevo Radio reports Croatian forces have not respected cease-fire in Jablanica "for a single moment," while Zagreb Radio accuses Muslim forces of "large-scale executions" of Croats. Croatian Defense Council orders "mobilization" of Bosnian Croats. (LD1106112393)

TUZLA THREATENS TO USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS (Sarajevo Radio): Tuzla authorities threaten to use "all chemical materials" they possess to defend the city "when the need arises," warning that chemical agents could lead to "grave consequences on a considerable part of the Balkans and beyond." (AU1006202393)

DIPLOMATIC

MACEDONIA AGREES TO U.S. TROOPS (TANJUG): Macedonian Government accepts plan to deploy 300 U.S. troops on its territory to reinforce 736 Swedish, Danish, Finnish troops currently monitoring borders with Serbia, Albania. (LD1006171693)

PRESIDENTS TO MEET IN GENEVA (AFP): International mediator Owen says Bosnian President Izetbegovic, Croatian President Tudjman, Serbian President Milosevic will meet next week in Geneva for first time since Athens meeting in early May, during which all sides agreed to Vance-Owen plan. (AU1106111593)

POLITICAL

CROATIA MAY NOT EXTEND UN MANDATE (Zagreb Radio): During visit to Brussels, Croatian Prime Minister Valentic says if UNPROFOR is "incapable" of ensuring return of Croatian refugees from Bosnia, Croatian Government "will not extend its mandate." Valentic also warns that future international sanctions against Croatia would "have an effect on the lives" of Muslim refugees in Croatia. (LD1006195393)

SANCTIONS

97 PERCENT UNDER POVERTY LEVEL (TANJUG): Belgrade Economic Research Center reports "around 97 percent" of population in FRY at "poverty level." Three and a half "average salaries" required to purchase same basket of goods that could be purchased with one salary in early 1990. (LD1006164193)

British Troops Kill Gunmen After Convoy Massacre

LD1106091593 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0801 GMT 11 Jun 93

[By David Mason, PRESS ASSOCIATION]

[Excerpt] British troops shot dead three Croat gunmen after they opened fire on a huge Muslim aid convoy in central Bosnia today.

British soldiers have returned fire before but this is the first time it has been confirmed that they have killed gunmen in the Bosnian conflict.

An Army spokesman said gunmen from the HVO Croatian Defence Force opened fire on the 500-lorry convoy bringing aid to the town of Tuzla.

"Fire was returned by a Warrior from the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment. Three HVO gunmen were killed," an Army spokesman said.

In a separate incident last night a Warrior fired 20 rounds from its chain gun after a sniper opened fire on a sentry position at the British base of Vitez.

An hour later a person with a wheelbarrow was seen taking a body away from the house which the shots had come from.

The convoy drama unfolded after more British troops were sent to help guard the lorries following the massacre of eight civilian drivers by Croatian gunmen.

Four Warrior armoured vehicles spent the night guarding the convoy and 12 more joined it today to help negotiate its safe progress through Croatian-held territory.

Attack 'Orchestrated'

AU1106081393 Paris AFP in English 0803 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 11 (AFP)—The attack on the Moslem humanitarian convoy moving through Croat-held regions in central Bosnia was an "orchestrated affair" and there were reports seven people were dead, a British army spokesman said Friday.

The spokesman, speaking by telephone to AFP from Vitez, said British Warrior armored personnel carriers were present when the incident began with Bosnian Croatian women demonstrating to stop the 500-vehicle convoy that was over 10 kilometres (six miles) long.

"The whole thing last night (Thursday) was an orchestrated affair," the spokesman said.

Armed groups of Croatians then began assaulting the drivers, who were mainly Moslem, in the convoy.

"We have reports that there may be seven dead," the spokesman said.

At least part of the convoy was again on its way Friday morning. The convoy was bound for Tuzla in the north-east, a Moslem enclave besieged by nationalist Serbs.

The spokesman said he had seen 20 vehicles "go past us this morning" in Vitez, about 10 kilometres (six miles) east of where the incident took place in Novi Travnik.

This incident took place only hours after a ceasefire took effect in the region.

At least a "half-dozen" British Warrior armored personnel carriers were on the scene and "trying to quell the violence" overnight at the junction just outside Novi Tavnik, leading to Travnik and Vitez, in a central Bosnian area about 100 kilometres (62 miles) northwest of Sarajevo.

He said the Warriors had fired warning shots.

The HVO has suffered a defeat against the mainly Moslem Bosnian forces in the Travnik area and tension is high in central Bosnia.

Sarajevo meanwhile was relatively calm overnight after a particularly deadly day of shelling in the capital in which six people were killed. Though the shelling was only sporadic the few that fell caused severe damage.

In once incident in the capital, a shell killed three people and wounded 19 when it fell in the early evening outside a military headquarters in the old town in the east of the capital, Radio Sarajevo said.

It fell at the entrance to the 10th Mountain Brigade as U.N. troops were in the square in front of the building giving sweets to children, reliable sources said.

They said just one shell fell.

Nationalist Serb forces besieging mainly Moslem Sarajevo know the city well, have spotters on the hills they occupy over the valley city and are believed to have many informants in the city itself.

In other shelling in Sarajevo Thursday, 10 children were wounded on Boljakov Potok, a hill in the north of the city.

The death toll Thursday was six dead, officials at hospitals told AFP.

The private aid convoy that was attacked, called Tuzla Salvation, was not under United Nations military escort. It had been organized by local authorities in Tuzla, a U.N.-designated safe haven, who wanted to take advantage of a lull in fighting to arrange for the delivery of 2,000 tonnes of aid.

U.N. spokesmen said it was allowed to pass under terms of the hours-old truce aimed at ending fierce clashes in central Bosnia between the Bosnian Croat HVO and the mainly Bosnian army forces.

The ceasefire had been signed at U.N. headquarters in Kiseljak by Bosnian Croat military leader Milivoj Petkovic and his Moslem counterpart Rasim Delic.

People 'Taken From Vehicles, Shot'

AU1006203493 Paris AFP in English 2007 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Croat forces Thursday [10 June] attacked a 500-truck humanitarian convoy in central Bosnia, took eight people off of it and shot them, a British military spokesman said.

Eight people "were taken from their vehicles and shot. I do not know if they are dead," said spokesman Paul Fykes from the British U.N. base in Vitez by telephone.

At least eight British Warrior armored personnel carriers were on the scene and "trying to quell the violence," Fykes said.

He said the attack took place outside the town of Novi Tavnik at a junction that leads to Travnik and Vitez, a central Bosnian area about 100 kilometres (62 miles) northwest of Sarajevo.

The Bosnian Croat forces were defeated by the mainly Moslem Bosnian army this week in the Travnik area and tension is high in central Bosnia. The convoy was bound for Tuzla in the northeast, a Moslem enclave besieged by nationalist Serbs. It had no military escort.

Bosnian Croats had earlier Thursday let the civilian convoy resume its route after being held up north of Prozor in central Bosnia, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Michel Marvie said in Sarajevo.

Releasing the convoy was one provision of a truce agreement signed Thursday between Bosnian Croat and Moslem forces.

Radio Sarajevo reported that the convoy, now said to be seven kilometres (four miles) and 503-vehicles long, started passing through Gornji Vakuf.

The so-called Tuzla Salvation convoy had started its voyage in Croatia on the Adriatic Coast and was traveling through a series of front lines, with Moslem-Croat fighting in the west and nationalist Serbs facing off against the mainly Moslem Bosnian forces in the the east.

The convoy was organized by authorities in Tuzla.

UNPROFOR was not escorting the convoy.

Tuzla is a U.N.-mandated safe haven which is besieged by Serb troops but has been relatively calm.

12 Killed

AU1106102593 Paris AFP in English 1014 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Zagreb, June 11 (AFP)—At least 12 people were killed in less than 24 hours in repeated attacks on a private aid convoy bound for the Moslem enclave of Tuzla in northern Bosnia, U.N. and British military spokesmen said Friday.

The dead included three Croat militiamen killed by British U.N. troops early Friday, after they opened fire on the convoy near the central Bosnian town of Vitez, a British army spokesman said.

The convoy, carrying 2,000 tonnes of food and other goods, was attacked repeatedly as it was travelling between Vitez and Travnik, a town captured by Moslem forces last Monday.

Leslie Burgess, spokesman of the battalion of British U.N. troops in Bosnia, said two Moslem drivers were killed early Friday when Bosnian Croat (HVO) forces opened fire on the convoy of 503 trucks chartered by the Tuzla authorities.

Burgess, speaking in the Croatian port of Split, said the convoy was first attacked late Thursday by Croat forces who tried to steal the goods. Seven drivers were killed.

In the latest attack, less than an hour after the clash between British and Croat troops, 24 convoy trucks were stopped by presumed HVO troops in the village of Nova Bila, near Vitez, who opened fire, a U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said in Zagreb.

The spokesman could not say if there were any casualties in the latest attack, at 9:15 a.m. (0715 GMT).

The convoy had been allowed to pass under terms of an hours-old truce aimed at ending fierce clashes in central Bosnia between the Bosnian Croat army and the mainly Bosnian army forces.

After the HVO attacked the convoy again early Friday near the British base in Vitez, killing two more drivers, British Warrior armoured vehicles were despatched to protect it, Burgess said, and came under attack from the HVO.

The British troops fired back, killing three of the Croat attackers, Burgess said.

The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman in Kiseljak, near the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, said the attack occurred at 8:30 a.m. (0630 GMT).

It was believed to be the first time British troops in UNPROFOR had killed anyone in Bosnia, and was viewed as a serious escalation of the U.N. presence in the conflict.

Speaking in Zagreb Thursday Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic blamed the Croats for the clashes between Croat and Moslem forces in central Bosnia.

"There may have been some excesses carried out on our side but the responsibility for the clashes lies with (Bosnian) Croat leader Mate Boban, who wants to carve out a fiefdom in Bosnia," Izetbegovic told AFP.

The attacks occurred as Yugoslav peace mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg were meeting Friday in Belgrade with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Croats Kill Iranian Diplomat, Associate

LD1006211093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Shortly after 1400 [1200 GMT] yesterday fighters of the Croatian Defense Council from Kakanj killed Iranian diplomat (Majid Montezeri Rasul) and Muhamed Abdic from Zavidovici on the Sarajevo-Zenica main road in the village of Catici [20 kilometers southeast of Zenica]. Montezeri was the head of the Iranian humanitarian center providing aid to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Abdic was an associate of the center. In connection with this treacherous killing president of the municipal assembly of Zenica, Besim Spahic, conveyed his condolences to the Iranian humanitarian center and representatives of the Iranian Government in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim Shelling Kills 7 Children 'at Playground'

LD1106094593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes for Croatian Radio]

[Text] The Muslim army has continued to launch attacks on Croatian villages and the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] positions around Novi Travnik and Vitez. Last night seven children died and five were wounded at a playground in Vitez as Muslim forces started raining tank and mortar shells on this town. Another five civilians were seriously wounded in this attack, which continued throughout the night.

The Muslim army has also launched fresh attacks on Kuber and the HVO's positions around Vitez. The attacks have been repelled and the lines of defense remain unchanged, despite the Muslim army's incessant infantry attacks on the Novi Travnik villages of Rad and of Dahovo, whose civilians have been evacuated, and on Vilenica, the mountain overlooking Novi Travnik.

Army, HVO Clashes Continue Around Travnik

AU1006150293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] The clashes between the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in central Bosnia are continuing and escalating. The situation in Travnik is particularly difficult. The town is being destroyed by HVO artillery. Material damage is enormous. The HVO is exerting strong pressure on the Croatian population to leave the town. The HVO has surrounded the village of (?Ritica). The village of [name indistinct] is on fire. The village of Lukici in the Kakanj commune was set alight and the Muslim population driven out. The HVO fighters today continued to arrest civilians, even women, in (?Han Ploca), Radanovici, and Topola. They were taken to the Kiseljak barracks.

Incidents also occurred in other places in central Bosnia. This was reported by the Press Center of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Refugees Arrive in HVO-Controlled Zone

LD1006114993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] According to reports released by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] central Bosnia operational zone, following an all-out attack launched two nights ago by Muslim forces on Croat areas, especially on Novi Travnik, Busovaca and Vitez, 5,000 refugees from the villages of Cukle, Brajkovici, and Grahovcici arrived in a narrow strip of Croat territory controlled by the HVO. The three villages have been burned down, as have the church in Brajkovici and a chapel in Cukle, the information service of the HVO of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna reported. Priests Franjo Krizanac and Perica Kurajica were killed in Brajkovici, while nuns Tihoslava Bilna and Izabela Puljic are missing.

Increasingly Slender Hopes for Cease-Fire

LD1006202293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Herzegovina for Croatian Radio]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The latest reports from the Lasva River valley speak of increasingly slender hopes that something is going to come out of the cease-fire which was concluded in Kiseljak today. According to reports from the third operational zone of the Croatian Defense Council of central Bosnia, the Muslim Army has been intensifying the attacks. They are attacking Budisici and Margetici, villages in the municipality of Novi Travnik, with their infantry and artillery forces. They are shelling Vilenica, the main defense point in the town of Novi Travnik, while shells are also hitting the very town of Novi Travnik.

Muslim Army Formations which are superior in number, following several days of fierce attacks, have seized the villages of Senkovici and Ocankovici. Houses in the villages are burning and there is a great concern for the fate of civilians.

The command of the Croatian Defense Council for central Bosnia today issued a statement containing a list

of names of 32 Croatians who were shot dead by members of the Muslim Army in the village of Maljine on 8 June at the point called Bikosi. Ten more people were put to death there, but their names remain unknown. All others have been taken to Mehurici. The names of those killed have been made public on the basis of a report by Pavo Barac and Berislav Marijanovic, survivors from this village. [passage omitted]

The office for refugees of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna calls on all citizens of Herzegovina to help the 15,000 refugees from central Bosnia, whose arrival in Herzegovina is expected in the next few days.

Morillon, Boban Talks End; Fighting Continues

LD1006200193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Bosnia-Herzegovina]

[Text] Talks between President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna Mate Boban and UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina General Philippe Morillon have concluded in Medjugorje. They spoke about stopping the fighting in central Bosnia, reasons for one of the rare aggressions by the Muslim army, crimes that its members perpetrated in central Bosnia, and fresh initiatives for stopping the hostilities, Mate Boban stated following the end of the meeting. The international public and UNPROFOR finally understood what is really happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that nobody else but the Croats wish Bosnia-Herzegovina with equal rights for all three nations. The Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna delegation asked UNPROFOR to save the Croatian people and secure their safe departure from threatened areas.

According to news coming from central Bosnia, the cease-fire agreement has not been observed, but fighting was of lesser intensity around 1400 [1200 GMT] in comparison with earlier today.

This morning Muslim forces attacked Slatka Voda and Kovacici in the municipality of Novi Travnik from all directions. This morning they also attacked villages in the vicinity of Kakanj [40 northwest of Sarajevo] for the first time. In Novi Travnik Muslim sniper actions have intensified, while in Vilenica, which is an important town defense point, formations of the Croatian Defense Council are repelling infantry attacks by the Muslim army.

Mostar is also experiencing no peace this afternoon. Infantry fighting is going on along the town front line in Santic Street and Bulevar, while the Muslim army is opening fire from heavy machine-guns over the approaches to the town on the Hum hill.

Executions, Atrocities by Muslims Reported

LD1006160693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] News is still coming in from central Bosnia that Muslim units are carrying out large-scale executions by firing squad and exterminating the population there. The Croatian villages of Susanj, Konjevic, Grahovcici, Plavcici, Cukle, Brajkovici, Orasac, Podovi, some eight kilometers from Zenica, on the demarcation line between Croatian and Muslim positions, are the scenes of atrocities of blood-curdling proportions.

Despite the agreement reached between the Croats and Muslims that they will preserve the principles of coexistence and good-neighborliness, the Muslim army entered the village of Susanj, rounded up the men, and shot them. An 80-year-old man from this village, who after two days managed to reach Zenica, gave an eyewitness account of how the Muslims killed 14 of his covillagers, while the women and children were left to the mercy of the Muslim Army gone completely berserk. According to the refugees, everyone has been killed, and everything set ablaze in the other villages.

Two Bosnian Franciscan monks from the parish of Brajkovici, Franjo Krizanac and Pero Karajica, were also murdered. The church in Brajkovici was set on fire and demolished, as well as all the parish premises.

An appeal was sent from Zenica to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Vitez to enter these villages and rescue the surviving women and children, to inform the international public, and try to curb the fanatical and crazed Muslim Army.

HVO To Carry Out Mobilization in Croatian Areas

LD1106112393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] At an extraordinary session last night the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] concluded that the Muslim forces have carried out large-scale offensive operations by launching an unprecedented campaign of terror and persecuting civilians on a mass scale, with the aim of conquering the land where the Croats have been living for centuries. The tragic consequences of the Muslim offewnsive are already known in the world: 400 dead, over 500 injured, tens of thousands of Croats driven out of their homes, torched and devastated villages. This offensive violates all the agreements signed and the promises given to the cochairmen of the peace conference. This obviously indicates no willingness to implement the Vance-Owen plan, it was stated at the session. The council expects UN Protection Forces to take a more effective part in protecting the lives of Croatian refugees.

It was also decided at the session to carry out mobilization in the area of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna. The decision outlines the mobilization procedure and citizens' obligations in more detail.

Sarajevo Radio Updates Fighting

AU1106123993

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 11 June carries in its regular 23-minute newscast several reports updating the fighting in the republic.

Reporting from the Gorazde Press Center, Mustafa Kurtovic says that "every inch of the ground has been pitted with heavy projectiles, while the aggressor is using combined artillery-infantry attacks to try to pierce the defense lines. The situation has never been as difficult as it is now during this offensive against the Gorazde free territory. The population from the surrounding villages is fleeing before the chetnik shells and infantry attacks. From the outskirts of the Gorazde municipality in the direction of Pale [words indistinct]. The basements are overflowing with refugees because the Red Cross in Gorazde is in no state to take care of any of the refugees.

"Since this morning, seven civilians have been killed, while 10 have been badly injured, which brings the tragic balance of the aggressor's onslaught to 17 dead and 42 injured citizens since last night. The hospital is overflowing with wounded. The corridors and adjoining rooms are full. The hospital has no blood, it has no basic surgical material, no blankets. There is practically nothing left in this long-suffering city.

"In the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army East Bosnia Gorazde Operative Group they tell us the latest information. According to them, the chetniks have been bringing in reinforcements to the region of Kamenica, (?Trepca), (?Slatka Voda), and [name indistinct] since last night. There is a tank unit comprised of around 500 chetniks in this region. Yesterday, the Serbo-chetnik aggressor brought into Pale 20 buses containing mercenaries and local chetniks from (?Miljenski) Corps, so that at the moment, the aggressor is attacking Gorazde with over 30 tanks, 27 armored personnel carriers, 24 Pragas. It is using heavy howitzers and multiple rocket launchers [words indistinct] from Visegrad, Pale, Foca, and the outskirts of (?Rogasica).

"In an attempt at an infantry breakthrough from the direction of Foca, the (?rebels) used one of their latest dirty methods. They took four men, Muslims, from the Foca penitentiary, and put a large amount of explosives into their backpacks. They then tied their hands and sent them toward the front defense line of the Gorazde defenders. The goal was to activate the explosives via remote control, once the people reached the vicinity of our fighters. However, they activated it before the unfortunate men were able to reach the Gorazde free territory."

The 2d Corps Seven South Operative Group Press Center reports that "there were provocations in the region of (?Trobaj) and (?Kotlic). The Tesanj defense lines were shelled from mortars, tanks, [words indistinct] on civilian suburbs Tesanj, Lepenci, and (?Svijet). Anti-aircraft machine guns, guns, and death sowers were active. Manpower and equipment is being regrouped on the Doboj front. There are Yugoslav Army Russian mercenary units with the chetniks. Tanks and mortars fired on the defense lines from the region of Stanovi, but the chetnik artillery was silenced."

The Bihac Press Center reports that "except the positions of the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps and the fighters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the chetniks also shelled the outskirts of the Bihac, Cazin, Bosanska Krupa front. According to the 5th Corps information service, the Velika Kladusa front was not altogether quiet. The chetniks' fire was most intense on the outskirts of Bosanska Krupa, and [name indistinct], on the wider area of [name indistinct], Gradina, Bosanska Bojna, and (?Sabandje). Our fighters did not respond to these provocations. The defense lines are stable."

The studio announcer says that "the morning is relatively quiet in Sarajevo. The citizens are warned to take care in the suburb of Pavle Goranin, where several shells landed between 1000 and 1100. There is some sniper activity on the crossroads in Novo Sarajevo."

Fierce Fighting Reported in Gorazde Region

AU1006123893

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 10 June carries within its regular 20-minute newscast several reports on the clashes between the Serbs and the Muslims.

According to a correspondent at the Gorazde Press Center, "there is real hell on all parts of the front this morning, particularly in Osanica on Carevo Guvno. A fierce battle is being waged. Both sides have many dead and wounded. The Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor has increased its shelling of (?all) villages in the Gorazde commune since this morning." According to the correspondent, "we have established on the basis of the documents found in Carevo Guvno that the Russian mercenaries who took part in the (?latest) offensive on Gorazde have been learning Serbian, particularly the terms used in chetnik offensive actions. This is further proof that we can offer at home and abroad that the aggressor ranks included many mercenaries from Russia and Romania." The correspondent concludes his dispatch by saying: "The situation concerning the wounded is extremely grave. We appeal to UNPROFOR to urgently send helicopters to airlift 67 seriously wounded people. They will die if they are not taken to the medical centers that have the necessary equipment and specialists."

A Maglaj correspondent reports that "the Maglaj front is characterized by the usual tank and mortar fire from Mitrovic Brijeg on the villages of Bradici, Lijesnica, and Maglaj itself." The correspondent also says that Maglaj "is threatened by hunger and epidemics," and that "enemy helicopters were seen flying at about 2200 [2000 GMT] from the direction of Teslic toward Kamenica, via Crna Reka."

According to a Bihac correspondent, "the last 24 hours on the Bihac front were characterized by the constant enemy provocations from all types of weapons."

According to the studio announcer, "a general danger alarm that sounded at 0925 is still in force in Sarajevo. We warn people to be careful while crossing (?Prsljanska) and Krancevic Streets, where, as the Centar security station reports, the snipers have intensified their actions. At about 1130, two shells hit Hrasno Brdo. We do not have any information on casualties."

Jablanica Cease-Fire Not Respected for 'Single Moment'

AU1106094093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 11 June carries in its regular 13-minute newscast several reports on continued fighting in the republic.

Reporting from the Maglaj Press Center, Hajrudin Sermic says that "the Maglaj citizens are spending this morning in shelters. The chetniks are continuing their crimes against civilians in this city. Sometime before 0900 [0700 GMT] intense shelling of the city with 120-mm and 82-mm mortar shells began. We still have no information about casualties." Further on he says that "during the night, [word indistinct] chetniks fired at civilian targets with antiaircraft [word indistinct] barrage. The situation in Maglaj continues to be serious. There is no food, medicine, sanitary material, or disinfectant."

Reporting from the 2d Corps Press Center Gradacac, the unidentified reporter says that "the day passed quietly on the Gradacac front, except for sporadic small arms and 82-mm and 60-mm mortar provocations on the defenders' positions. This was particularly pronounced in the area of Medjedja Gornja, Zelinje Srednje, (?Jaslenica), and (?Novaljici). In the afternoon hours, there was mortar fire from the direction of Turici on the lines at [name indistinct] and Lipovaca, with sporadic antiaircraft machine gun fire. Long-range artillery was used to send only two shells of 155-mm caliber deep into the free Gradacac territory. There were no casualties, the defense lines are stable, and morale of the 107th Vitez Brigade and other units from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2d Corps is high."

In a largely indistinct report from (?Zavidovici), Viktor Boban says that "a general alert was sounded as several dozen projectiles and howitzer shells showered the city." Further on he says that "there is new material damage." Further on he says that the defense lines are stable and ready to repel any attack.

Hamiz Deronjic from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2d Corps Press Center reports that "the aggression against the free Brcko territory continues. All day yesterday the Brcko fighters spent repelling the fierce attacks of the Serbo-chetniks. Overnight the aggressor fiercely shelled the entire defense line. Using mortar shells of 60-mm and 82-mm caliber, the enemy pounded Lipovci, Rijeke, Licki Most, Omerbegovaca, Dizdarusa, Bukovac, (?Bodiriste), Vranovaca. The enemy supported the mortar fire directed at Rijeke, Bukovac, and Bajici with antiaircraft guns. In the region of Jakovica, the defenders discovered a [word indistinct] chetnik subversion group, which was successfully broken up. The aggressor continues to bring in reinforcements to the Brcko front." Further on he adds that "after the defenders totally defeated the elite Nis troops, the chetnik commanders called the Croatian brigade which had been in its position in Bosanski Brod to their aid."

Reporting from Jablanica, Haldo Derbisbegovic says that "the morning in Jablanica started with fierce shelling from all available artillery weapons. At 0545 the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] troops began an all-out artillery attack from all their strongholds on all the Jablanica defense lines. (?Moksovica) underwent particularly heavy shelling until 0830 when the aggressor's troops started an infantry breakthrough. The defenders of the Jablanica free territory and the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry, readily met the aggressor's forces and successfully defeated their criminal intent which was to destroy the Muslims and conquer new territory.

[Word indistinct], their aggression against Jablanica, three completely ethnically cleansed villages, (?Salici), (?Beljanica), and (?Slatina). Everything Muslim in them has been set ablaze and destroyed, houses and religious buildings. Agreements and orders, including this latest one from yesterday that was signed by Rasim Delic and Milivoj Petkovic and called for an absolute cease-fire, has not been respected here for a single moment."

Serbs Continue To Shell Sarajevo

LD1006211193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Fresh chetnik shells were falling on Sarajevo this afternoon and evening. Here is our reporter [words indistinct]:

[Reporter] Chetniks are again showing all their cruelty by shelling Sarajevo this evening. A shell was fired on the UNPROFOR command in Bistrik [central Sarajevo] from enemy positions around 2100. According to incomplete information [brief break in transmission] have been killed and over 20 wounded.

Around 1900, the enemy shelled with 82-mm shells [brief break in transmission], where 10 children were wounded. The security situation was serious in the city today. [passage indistinct]

Tuzla Assembly Decides To Use Chemical Agents

AU1006202393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Our correspondent Salih Brkic reports that the Tuzla people are resolute in their decision to resort to the use of the most lethal chemical agents if need be:

[Begin Brkic recording] The people in Tuzla—almost 1 million of them—are not going to allow anyone to remain under the siege of (?chetnik) artillery and tanks. They are going to defend themselves not only with [word indistinct], but with all the other chemical materials it possesses, and their power is great, (?ranging from) air to water flows. The Assembly of the Tuzla District decided not to organize a referendum because it has already received full support for its decisions from the citizens of the entire region via their representatives.

Therefore, due to the shortage of material and technical means and the traffic blockade and in order to [word indistinct] defend the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its citizens, the Command of the Second Corps in Tuzla is directed to use these substances when the need arises. Together with the district and communal authorities, the Command of the Second Corps in Tuzla will take all measures with a view to preparing the available chemical agents to be transported and used on locations established by the Command of the Second Corps in Tuzla.

It is also proposed to the (?Presidency) of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to use chemical agents in the [word indistinct] defense of all other endangered regions of our homeland.

[Words indistinct] Tuzla, due to the extremely difficult situation in which the Tuzla District has been placed with the constant chetnik offensives, traffic blockades, and the inertia of the entire world community. As Sead (?Hasagovic), chairman of the Lukavac Commune, said during the debate, the mandate of UNPROFOR and the UNHCR is not only to bury the dead or transport the disabled. They are still not opening [word indistinct] roads, they argue that they cannot protect convoys and the necessary humanitarian aid, and they do not see the chetnik helicopters flying every day.

It was also pointed out at the Tuzla District Assembly session that many people in the world know that apart from chlorine, this region also possesses other chemical agents that can leave grave consequences on a considerable part of the Balkans and beyond. (?There are no more dilemmas), nobody will be allowed to close up 1 million people into the [words indistinct] in Tuzla, security zone should apply to the entire free territory and not only the town of Tuzla.

It was also pointed out that one should have acted in the same way in the past in the cases of the horrible golgotha of Cerska, Konjevic Polje, Srebrenica, and other heroic places in Podrinje. For in the world history, every country subjected to aggression, even with much less brutality than this one, defended itself with all available means. Therefore, we also have this right, it was said at the Tuzla District Assembly session today. [end recording]

Abdic: Izetbegovic Leading People to 'Catastrophe'

AU1106095493 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 93 p 5

[M. Maric report]

[Text] Banja Luka—"We must oppose the continuation of the war declared by Alija Izetbegovic and the introduction of a military dictatorship. I have clearly told Stoltenberg and Owen that the Muslim people do not favor the continuation of the war and that Alija Izetbegovic is leading those people into a catastrophe."

This is what Fikret Abdic, member of the Presidency of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, told the radio from Velika Kladusa yesterday, addressing the people of the Bihac-Cazin Krajina.

"I have not spoken about this before lest I frightened the people or revealed the corridor used to deliver food to about 300,000 people living in this region who have been surrounded by Serbs for a year already. Moreover, this corridor, which means everything to us, is a Serbian present to us and I hope that nobody will now work on closing it down. The army of our district must not plan any attacks or provocations, but must work on calming down the situation."

Abdic says that a great disunity reigns among Muslims today and for that he accuses the Party of Democratic Action.

"The Party of Democratic Action has become a private party which is preparing itself for elections by sharing German marks and buying people with foreign money that has arrived as aid to this region. I have joined the Party of Democratic Action because I am a Muslim, although as a businessman I was closer to Ante Markovic's party.

"Today, when the republic is virtually reigned by Izetbegovic and Ganic, I will stay have to share the fate of the people. The other officials, however, have settled down in comfortable places: Omer Behman is ambassador in Tehran where he has taken his family as well, Ejup Ganic settled his family in the United States, and Haris Silajdzic in Pakistan," Fikret Abdic concluded.

Izetbegovic Explains Police, Army Replacements

LD0906164193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina decided to replace the heads of the police and the army, Jusuf Pusina and Sefer Halilovic, respectively, at a time when clashes between Muslim Army Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units began to flare in the Travnik area. The latest clashes are not, however, thought to have been the reason for the dismissals. An explanation was provided today by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency president [Alija Izetbegovic]. Ranko Mavrak reports:

As the president explained, the main reason was an inadequate degree of cooperation over the last six months between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The problem was to be found in the personalities heading these formations, in other words, in Jusuf Pusina and Sefer Halilovic.

According to Izetbegovic, another reason behind the changes were a number of recent major failures suffered by the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. To illustrate this point he mentioned the latest fighting on Mount Trebevic, when at least 30 members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were killed but no major advance was made. Izetbegovic also referred to a recent action on Mount Igman, when 70 members of the Bosnian Army were killed. He went on to say that losses of such magnitude could not be tolerated and that no one had been called to account for these losses.

Izetbegovic spoke again today about events in central Bosnia which, he stressed, are weakening Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. We are not in conflict with the Croatian people, Izetbegovic said, and went on to stress that Mate Boban could not be identified with the Croatian people.

A season of manhunting has begun in Sarajevo. Members of as yet unidentified military units have resorted to ambushing people in the streets of Sarajevo at all hours of the day to take them to dig trenches, regardless of whether they have valid documents and regardless of the state of their health.

The outgoing minister of internal affairs, Jusuf Pusina, said long ago that a decision by the Presidency would be enough to stop the manhunt. Pusina was replaced in the meantime, but the manhunt in the streets of Sarajevo has been stepped up.

Data on Muslim Politicians Given

93BA1074M Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 14 May 93 p 35

[Unattributed article: "Fikret, Mufid, Sefer, et al."]

[Text] We are reprinting passages from an article published in SLOBODNI TJEDNIK in Croatia which offers portraits of the principal figures on the Muslim political scene.

HAJRUDIN SOMUN, former journalist, has been given the post of ambassador to Turkey as a reward for loyalty to Alija Izetbegovic.

SABINA IZETBEGOVIC, daughter of the leader of Bosnian Muslims, is his translator and personal secretary.

SEFER HALILOVIC is today the "commander of units" of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is said of him that he is KOS's [Counterintelligence Service] man in that Army.

VEHBIJA KARIC before the war was spokesman of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] in Sarajevo, today is a close associate of Halilovic.

FAHRUDIN RADONCIC, formerly newsman for the Zagreb newspaper DANAS, recently became Halilovic's adviser for public relations (advertising).

SENAD AVDIC, Bosnian journalist who at one time filled the pages of the Croatian press, is now the greatest mercenary among the newsmen. He does not care for whom he works, just so he is paid well.

RUSMIR MAHMUTCEHAJIC, energy minister in the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some people say that this is the number one man in Muslim politics. He believes that Bosnia and Herzegovina can be saved only by the concept of the NOB [National Liberation Struggle].

EJUP GANIC, very close to Mr. Halilovic. Izetbegovic very often sends him on a diplomatic trip to the United States as a reward; there, he visits his family, whom he settled there before the war. When Izetbegovic is absent from Sarajevo, Ganic tries to be the top man in the city.

MUFID MEMIJA, former leading journalist of Television Sarajevo, exemplary Communist, today he is transformed into a great Muslim and champion of Allah. Recently, appointed director of Radio-TV Bosnia and Herzegovina.

OMER BEHMAN was the first man in the Democratic Action Party before the election. He is still in the party, but he is well-known as the most outspoken champion of the Islamic state, however large it might be. One of the rare ones who has favored signing the Vance-Owen plan.

ALIJA DELIMUSTAFIC, the interior minister who has been written off and for whom warrants have twice been issued. Present whereabouts unknown.

FIKRET ABDIC, rather powerful in economic affairs and helps Bosnia and Herzegovina with arms. Returned to Agrokomerc in Cazin Krajina, and communicates only officially with the top Muslim leadership in Sarajevo.

Government May Not Extend UNPROFOR Mandate

LD1006195393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] It is necessary to secure the return of all refugees and displaced people, to halt the Muslim-Croat conflict, which has been underway in central Bosnia for over a week, Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said in Brussels today. Talking at a news conference, Valentic said among other things that soldiers who are not citizens of former Yugoslavia took part in these clashes.

According to Valentic, the essence of the conflicts lies in the fact that Muslims who were fleeing from Serb assaults, found refugee in traditionally Croat areas. Muslims who say they agree to the Vance-Owen plan should prove this and should agree to the return of displaced Croats, he added, demanding that pressure be put on Muslims.

Valentic accused UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] of not fulfilling their tasks. They should have ensured the return of hundreds of thousands of displaced people, should have disarmed paramilitary formations, and contributed to the normalization of traffic and the restoration of oil pipelines. They have failed in all their tasks, Valentic said. If UNPROFOR is incapable of ensuring the return of displaced persons soon, we will not agree to extend its mandate, which expires at the end of this year, he said adding that Zagreb would not bear responsibility for possible consequences.

Regarding threats that the EC would introduce sanctions against Croatia if the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina were to continue, Valentic said that sanctions would have the opposite effect. He warned that they would put Croatia in a difficult situation and would have influence on the life of 600,000 refugees, including Muslim refugees, in Croatia.

Valentic was in Brussels trying to finalize an agreement on trade cooperation with the EC. He was received by his Belgian counterpart Jean-Luc Dehaene, who will take up the post of EC chairman from 1 July, and by EC officials Leon Brittan and Hans van den Broek, who is in charge of foreign affairs.

Official on UN Support for Croatian Integrity

LD1006100793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Interview with Jure Radic, head of Office of Croatian President, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Radic, good evening. In this UN Security Council statement there are a number of clearly defined standpoints on the part of the Security Council. Which do you regard as the most important?

[Radic] Well, regarding the entire statement by the UN Security Council...[pauses] I would like to stress that a Security Council presidential statement is a document that is passed unanimously. This time it was passed at the suggestion of the United States. It includes several very, very, clear messages.

The first message, addressed to the Croatian state, says that the UN Security Council supports Croatia regarding the integrity of its territory. According to every resolution so far, particularly those most recent ones—and this is very clear in this presidential statement—every inch of Croatian soil is and will be an integral part of Croatian territory. It also includes a message to the rebel Serbs—that they should give up any fruitless business of contemplating some system, some authority beyond the Croatian state.

[Reporter] Tell us, why do you think the UN Security Council has issued such a statement at this very moment. Has it got anything to do with the referendum [on the unification of Krajina and other Serb-occupied territories] announced by the Serbs?

[Radic] Well, at the moment the final decision on the future of the UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate in Croatia is being prepared or discussed. You know very well that this mandate, defined and drawn up as it is, expires at the end of June. Some alternatives have been put forward—three on the part of Mr. Butrus-Ghali, of which Croatia finds only two acceptable. This communique, this UN Security Council statement, gives clear support to Croatia and, if I may say so, to its stands.

[Reporter] Tell us, the UN Security Council is demanding talks. Croatia is willing to talk. Who can it talk to, since Knin and Krajina are governed by extremists?

[Radic] We want to talk with all those in Knin and any area of Croatia who are aware that Zagreb is their capital, that Croatia is their country. All our reports indicate that it is some 15-20 percent of rebels who terrorize everyone else in these areas, in Krajina. The final chapter of this resolution—this is its main feature that distinguishes it from the other resolutions so far—is a kind of preparation for this future of Krajina's as it conveys an appeal to the Croatian public and the Croatian state, Croatian authorities that they should be ready for this future by being open to all Croatian citizens, in a different way, of course, from those who have smeared their hands with blood, who have violated Croatia's law.

It is also a message to those who are planning or preparing some sort of referendum—something we regard as treason since this is a referendum on the seceding of a part of sovereign Croatian territory, which is what it is under all international legislation. This is also an instruction to those who are organizing it, to the effect that they should give it up, as well as to all those who are going to vote in it, if it takes place, that they have no future such acts.

[Reporter] Could you please tell us the latest news from China?

[Radic] Because of all these events in Bosnia and in the Travnik area, and because of the issue of the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate, and particularly because of a European Community meeting that sent a message to the president saying they were expecting him to make an important, significant contribution to a discussion on the future situation and developments in former Yugoslavia, Republican President Franjo Tudjman has made the decision to cut short his visit to China, and he and a part of the delegation will return, while the economic delegation headed by Mr. [Franjo] Greguric will continue the visit as planned.

Federal

Government Introduces Visas for UN Personnel

LD1006144593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—The federal government passed a decision today whereby the holders of UN travel documents must obtain an adequate Yugoslav visa before entering the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As the Federal Ministry of Information has announced, the decision will come into effect eight days after it is published in the *Official Gazetteer of the FRY*. [passage omitted]

Zoran Zivkovic, former assistant minister for education and culture, has been appointed deputy minister for education and culture, a statement by the Federal Ministry of Information says at the end.

Owen Confirms Milosevic, Izetbegovic, Tudjman To Meet

AU1106111593 Paris AFP in English 1105 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 11 (AFP)—E.C. mediator Lord Owen confirmed here Friday that the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian presidents would meet in Geneva next week.

He told the press that Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia had agreed to meet to discuss the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Owen made the remarks after he and U.N. mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg had four hours of talks with Milosevic.

The summit meeting would be the first between Izetbegovic and his Croatian and Serbian counterparts since their meeting in Athens at the beginning of May.

The Bosnian leader said Thursday that international mediators Owen and Stoltenberg had called for the meeting amid fierce clashes in central Bosnia between Moslems and Croats.

Izetbegovic called off plans to visit Geneva first for talks with Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban, blaming the fighting on the "personal politics" of Boban, whose "sole aim is to carve out a fiefdom for himself."

Negotiators Begin New Round of Talks With Milosevic

AU1106091693 Paris AFP in English 0850 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 11 (AFP)—Yugoslav peace mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg on Friday opened a new round of talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, an informed source said.

The two negotiators raised their concern over Bosnian Serb action in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina and the imprisonment of Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic in a first round Wednesday, which Owen said had failed to produce any concrete results.

Their meeting Friday started off with a working breakfast before they entered closed-door talks.

Owen and Stoltenberg went to the Albanian capital of Tirana Thursday for talks on the growing tension in the neighbouring Serbian province of Kosovo, then headed on to Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro which is Serbia's partner in the rump Yugoslavia, before returning to Belgrade

They said their talks with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic were "very important" but did not elaborate.

Draskovic, who faces up to 15 years in jail, was arrested on June 1 after an anti-government demonstration turned violent.

Owen on Thursday had told journalists one of their "concerns" raised with Milosevic was that Bosnian Serb forces continued to bar U.N. military observers from the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde, one of six U.N.-designated safe areas.

Clinton 'Indecision' on Bosnia Viewed

AU1106080193 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 93 pp 46-47

[Aleksandar Nenadovic commentary: "The Swaying of Bill Clinton"]

[Text] While he was chasing votes, Clinton endeavored to overtake Bush by accusing him of much hesitation in stopping the Yugoslav tragedy. He would definitely do "something" more, he promised. Later when he took over the state helm, he was not in a hurry. He remained convinced that the American majority expected of him above all to do something courageous and far-reaching in the worn-out national economy. Has he perhaps not made a mistake?

He most often replied to rebukes by saying that he had not forgotten Bosnia and his promises, but he could not and dared not do anything hastily. In order to take possible major steps in the Yugo-crisis, the President had to prepare himself thoroughly and sensibly. But this vacillation only encouraged the rebukes and demands. Especially because as a rule the public activities of the White House boiled down to marathon "consultations" which resulted in largely contradictory recommendations. In the meantime, fear of domestic political fire in the face of pictures of the Bosnian agony had its own effect.

Unavoidability or Deceit

Unprepared, or unable, to make a choice which he could not abandon, Clinton tried to calm down the excessive passions with noncommittal statements about "possible" military intervention and principled readiness to lift the embargo on arms deliveries to the Muslim side. But while he was thus trying to satisfy the domestic criticism and the Muslim world, he seemed to be limiting his own room for maneuver rather than persuade others that he had a statesman's decisiveness.

Partners in Western Europe (and even in Yeltsin's Russia) have, to put it mildly, remained in a quandary. The impression has been created that they are united only in wanting to force the United States onto the caravan bound for Bosnia, which means complex action that implies the appropriate U.S. participation in the possible extension of the size and powers of the "blue helmets," as well as finance. It can clearly be read on the sour faces of U.S. diplomats that getting involved in this course does not by any means suit the current president, just as it did not suit his predecessor.

It is emerging that, contrary to expectations, Clinton is imitating George Bush in this matter. Unavoidability or deceit?

George Bush finished badly as the head of the United States; Bill Clinton seems to have confused his followers by not beginning well.

The war challenge from southeast Europe (in contrast to the challenge from the Persian Gulf) became serious for Bush at the end of his four-year term of office—virtually at a time last fall when for him the election campaign had already been lost. The election standing of the former U.S. helmsman depended little on to what extent he was or seemed to be qualified, skillful, and active in foreign policy. After all, he did have behind him the war for Kuwait from which he emerged more or less the victor on a white steed.

But this was forgotten; domestic clashes, primarily in the economy, were at the forefront of attention. The increase in the various consequences of the ungovernable recession, ranging from excessive and deepening social differences, which were even hitting the middle classes, to corruption, crime, and drugs, threw the political (and not exactly undisputed) hero of "Desert Storm" into increasing problems. It was becoming more and more difficult for him to crush the most serious of all the accusations on the eve of the elections: that his economic and particularly tax-finance policy boiled down to protecting the corrupt oligarchy inherited from Reagan which hardly campaigned for social justice and therefore brought into question the basic tenets of U.S. democracy.

These accusations in fact formed the backbone of Clinton's "neo-populist" election platform and rhetoric. Apart from everything else that sounded courageous, he committed himself to increasing taxes on the wealthier classes in order to finance the threatened state welfare (particularly health) system. Thus, he won the votes of not just blacks, Hispanic-Americans, and other, economically dependent minorities, but also a large part of the most numerous middle class without whose support no one has for a long time been able to penetrate to the top of the U.S. political pyramid.

In contrast to Bush, Clinton therefore entered the White House playing primarily the domestic card. The outside world, including the already divided Yugoslav Balkans, was in the background for him, at least at the beginning. Wicked tongues say that he wanted it to remain that way but destiny wanted it otherwise. The excitement that was inflamed by the agony of the former Yugoslavia more and more seriously undermined Clinton's presidential priorities; the daily presentation of upsetting and horrifying pictures on the small screen literally forced ill-fated Bosnia upon the White House. Fierce emotions created the appropriate political climate and will continue to do so while they last.

Undesired Turn-Around

When he took over the state helm in January, Clinton, again in contrast to his predecessor, put together his program and government according to his own vision of the internal economic, social, and political renewal of the United States. The aim was to eliminate as soon as possible the relative lagging behind in world market share and competition and to deal more effectively with its strongest competitors—the Japanese, the Germans, and, perhaps in the future, the Chinese. Such a renovation certainly implied the appropriate quite ambitious, by American standards, distribution of national income, partly through more radical pruning of the mammoth military spending.

This was the direction that Clinton's presidential boat should have taken. But just as it started to move it was stopped by the Bosnian storm. Bush's successor was forced to make an undesired turn-around under pressure which pushed him onto another possibly more risky, for his temperament and experience, track. He prepared himself for a different beginning but he had nowhere to go.

Out of fear of losing his foothold in the country, he took a zig-zag course in foreign policy; as if he was defending himself more than he was leading; he swayed and bent, leaving the impression that uncertainty was impairing his view. Up until now he seems not to know what he will do and how he will do it, even though it is becoming more and more difficult for him to refuse to participate in efforts to calm the Yugo-crisis. His confusion (also shared by others), many contradictory assessments, as well as domestic and international splits, are tying his hands. Hardly anything worse can happen to the most powerful man of the world's current only superpower.

Only yesterday it seemed that the United States could expect everything of its 42d president, but not this swaying and pitching. After the election victory last

November the prediction was the exact opposite: It seemed that the easy-going, eloquent Southerner from Arkansas was relentlessly progressing as the messenger of a new generation. Not only with the freshness of his unconventional eloquence but also with the selection of aims in his program and strategy, he conjured up Kennedy's robust, exemplary political and statesmanlike gift. The expectations were all the greater. How great are they now?

According to the latest polls, Bill Clinton at this moment is not even supported by 10 percent of Americans. Moreover, ominous voices are saying that (not only because of Bosnia, of course) he has been losing his bearings, ever since he had to run on the thin ice of foreign policy. To exacerbate his problems, the economy, which in the final quarter of last year was making an impressive leap, is again losing its rhythm. At the same time, and not unconnected with this, negotiations in GATT are hanging on a thread; quarrels with the Europeans over agricultural and other state subsidies have not stopped; the massive trade deficit of $50 billion with Japan alone remains at the same level; the President's economic program was barely passed by the House of Representatives and it is uncertain whether it will be passed by the Senate....

To top it all off and to add salt to the wound, waves of fierce criticism are advancing because of indecision in the face of the untenable brutality in Bosnia. In such a heightened atmosphere, the President cannot share responsibility with anyone, neither when he speaks nor when he keeps quiet. In fact, the more difficult it is to explain himself, the more he suffers. This is how this game of desire and passion among the excited public and politically surrounded beginner in the White House looks in practice.

Can you imagine a farmer who is so unsure about the work he is doing that several days after planting, he digs up, say, peppers and cabbage in order to check if the plant has taken root? The question sounds crazy. Precisely such a gardening metaphor was put forward in the New York NEWSWEEK (after the Serbian "no" in Pale) as a symbolic byword for the presidency of Bill Clinton so far. This goes along with the explanation that suspicions about his inclination to hesitate even when time does not permit is older than the quandary about the Yugoslav nightmare.

Nor indeed should one take at face value the polls or the criticism which are hinting at the twilight of Clinton's election glory. All those who are rushing to write off his visionary program and the political idealization of an incipient career as an electoral, propaganda blinding of the simple voters according to a scenario from an advertising firm on New York's Madison Avenue will perhaps be deceiving themselves. He still has time to prove himself as the leader of a younger generation who promises the comprehensive reprogramming of U.S. policy after the end of the cold-war era.

Nevertheless, not even those who wish all the best for the 47-year-old President with the modest experience of governor of a small southern state deny that he has unexpectedly been put to a difficult and perhaps decisive test without the possibility of choosing a neutral, golden middle road. Not least while he tries to pull himself through the Yugoslav crisis, because precisely here in the Bosnian melting pot, the unrelenting pressure both inside and outside the United States is testing both the political strategy and the nerves of the head of the White House on two fronts.

First of all, as regards timing, the pressure is exposing him to an extremely delicate foreign policy decision at the least favorable time; while on the domestic front, by marking time he is losing support. Then, as regards substance, Washington neither wants nor dares to continue alone in Bosnia, at least not to send ground units there. With others, above all with Russia and Western Europe, the United States could achieve something only if it is prepared to accept military, political, and financial obligations which it has not been willing to accept so far. Since time immemorial, one has been able identify the strongest power by the fact it likes much more to command rather than to follow.

All in all, the ferment and friction in the divided political world of the United States are creating the impression that the President has virtually been forced up against a wall, just four months after he took power. Is this really the case? To what extent has Bill Clinton really been undermined at home and to what extent could this influence future American behavior in and around Bosnia?

According to the current state of play, the only certain thing is that the pressure on the head of the White House both for and against military intervention is not stopping. It is also certain that if the war in Bosnia continues, this pressure will not diminish. This means to all intents and purposes that Clinton's postponed decisions, no matter what they are, affect us too. At least to the extent that they are influenced by the conduct of the military and political leaders here in all their groupings, forums, and locations. Among them unfortunately are those who seem to be deliberately trying to foment bad omens.

Enthralled by an excess of boastful self-confidence, the most belligerent are even threatening revenge, the spread of the irrational war, the murder of members of UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force], and even the terrorist bombardment of Rome, London, and New York. Such grotesque, pseudo-political games with uncontrolled outpourings of fury could only be welcome to those critics of the indecisiveness of President Clinton who are advocating lightning bombardments even without the approval of the United Nations.

'Lightning Speed' of Cosic Ouster Viewed

AU1106095593 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 93 p 9

[Milo Gligorijevic commentary: "The Technology of a Coup d'Etat"]

[Text] On Monday night [31 May] at the stroke of midnight the Federal Assembly passed a vote of no confidence in Dobrica Cosic, the first president of the third Yugoslavia. He had spent 349 days in his headache of a position alienated from the government and the opposition and probably constantly questioned about the literary value of his political declarations.

It is being said that at a meeting with the military leadership on 27 May the now former head of state compared the present constitution to the Brioni Constitution; attributed the "Slovene syndrome" and a desire for secession to the Montenegrin leadership; criticized the strengthening of the police in Serbia, and then related how many people had been asking him, "Dobrica, what are you waiting for when you have the army?"

This sentence was given a prominent position in all news reports as Cosic's greatest and unforgivable sin. It should be understood that by saying this sentence he was preparing and indirectly calling on soldiers to carry out a coup d'etat.

What happened then?

One report said that Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia, was astounded that Cosic had met with the military leadership "and that nobody knew about this." How did Milosevic know if no one knew? We were informed of this by another newspaper and another, different report. It was said that "some of the participants of this meeting had informed" Slobodan Milosevic about the content of the talks at this secret meeting. Now imagine several generals rushing to take several roads and shortcuts to tell the president of Serbia what their supreme commander was dreaming! If this really happened the chroniclers of political life must ask the inevitable question: why did the generals not inform both republican presidents, Milosevic and Bulatovic, about Cosic's stands and not just one of them? And why did they not inform the Federal Assembly rather than it being warned by the party machinery of the Serbian Socialists?

The government, which considers some issues to be harmful, seems not to think that it owes its citizens some answers and clarity in these answers. It demonstrates the use of force and gives an opportunity to foreign journalists to report precisely from Belgrade that "Cosic who extreme Serbs consider to be too moderate," has been removed from his position. Why removed? Because they say that the parliament decided that he had violated the Constitution. Note: not proved but decided!

How did the removal take place?

Irritated by a report about the secret meeting with the military leadership the Serbian Socialists took out of its envelop Seselj's indictment against Dobrica Cosic according to which the head of the Federal State had violated the Constitution. And proved: that he had set up a state council in violation of the Constitution; that he had given his personal advisers authority above the authority of ministers; that he had grabbed for himself the kind of powers that the heads of state of presidential systems have; that he had meddled in foreign affairs.... They do not say which harmful decision was made by this state council, what Dr. Svetozar Stojanovic had passed such a fatefully important judgment on, and how, with which decision, and with which diplomatic act Cosic himself had harmed his country.

Yugoslavia is not the only country to have its leader dismissed, but in other parts of the world where this has happened the people have had first of all to be convinced of his guilt. Here everything has happened at lightning speed.

At 1630 on Monday President Cosic was informed by fax that the deputies of the Federal Assembly would be debating his culpability. Did he receive this message? Was he prepared for the debate? This did not interest the smiling Radoman Bozovic, president of the Chamber of Citizens. The debate began at 1800 and opposition leaders vainly pointed out its hastiness. They vainly asked which article of the Constitution Cosic had violated. Vainly Svetozar Marovic, secretary of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro, complained that the debate was being held without Cosic, and that that morning neither Radoje Kontic, federal prime minister, nor Milos Radulovic, president of the Chamber of the Republics in the Federal Assembly, knew about "all this." The judgment of the Chamber of Citizens came quickly and as anticipated: Dobrica Cosic had violated the Constitution and therefore at the behest of the Socialists and the Radicals he had been given a vote of no confidence. In the Chamber of the Republics the same decision was made also with a majority vote and suddenly Dobrica Cosic was no longer the head of state. He was slain by someone else's throw-away line: "Dobrica, what are you waiting for when you have the army?" He was ruined because of the verbal offense.

It should be openly said: It would have taken longer to dismiss the manager of a supermarket, or the organizer of a car pool, or the manager of a glue factory.

Of course, analysis of this "exploit" is yet to come, but it can be understood in advance that the vocal dissident from the time of monism will not have the sympathies of most analysts from this or any similar pluralism. In the first statements, some are already weakly saying that "he supped with the devil and is now paying the price," others are claiming that, "irredeemably vague and confused," he conducted a murky policy, and yet others (like Vuk Draskovic) said: "A primitive quarrel within the family."

The frustrated expectations of the sworn opposition are undoubtedly behind such statements. They blame Dobrica Cosic for not distancing himself more from the government and moving more toward them. They think he pawned his literary glory and his whole rebellious past for the political survival of Slobodan Milosevic. Some of them believe that Milosevic could now agree to international control of Serbian borders (thus showing that the obstacle to this control was removed during the night between Monday and Tuesday) and the unprecedented media fuss would begin in which Cosic "the father of Serbian nationalism" would be marked as the culprit for the civil war on the borders of the former Yugoslavia and the strategist of ethnic cleansing.

Nothing is impossible in Serbia!

But who knows how much emotion and strength Dobrica Cosic still has for political struggles. And who knows whether anybody would want to listen to him in these political struggles.

It is indisputable nevertheless that destiny has assigned to him the important, the most important roles in great tremors and turning points. At the end of May 1968 in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia he voiced his now famous criticism of the ruling concept of national policy and received fierce political condemnation. Several days later the student demonstrations began. He was in his house in Grocka, surrounded by the army and police, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for some reason sent a telegram to all embassies saying: Student unrest has broken out in Belgrade and the leader is Dobrica Cosic.

Now, a day after his dismissal, the Radical deputy Branislav Vakic knocked out Mihajlo Markovic, deputy of the Serbian Renewal Movement in a corridor of the Federal Assembly building. The incident was followed by serious unrest in the center of Belgrade. Standing before the growing crowd, Draskovic said: "The day has dawned in Serbia when life has no meaning." Journalists reported the brutality of the fighting, the death of a policeman, the shooting, and the wounding. Everything ended, if it has ended with the arrest of Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, his wife Danica Draskovic, and several of the party's officials and deputies. According to reports from NTV Studio B, Vuk Draskovic is in prison brutally beaten up and foreign agencies have reported that the demonstrations started because of the dismissal of Dobrica Cosic.

All this is happening at a time when the population of unhappy Yugoslavia is running out of money, food, clothes, medicines, and hope. Only uncertainty and fear are on the increase.

Relations With Army Viewed

AU1106091993 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun pp 15-16

[Dragan Bujosevic commentary: "The So-Called Shorthand Notes"]

[Text] Milomir Minic said clearly in the Assembly of Yugoslavia: "However, the latest activities of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and above all his assessments and stands voiced in talks with the military leadership have required that we take a stand and express our belief that we cannot have confidence in Dobrica Cosic in his further performance of his duties." (From the unauthorized shorthand notes)

Dobrica Cosic's talks with the generals were therefore the final straw for the patience of the Socialists. As regards this meeting, POLITIKA wrote that this concerned a session of the Supreme Army Council. The next day the office of Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia, released the denial: There had been no meeting of the council.

The meeting took place in Dobanovci, Cosic and the generals were together almost nine hours, and the meeting was organized by the General Staff.

Then "the participants in this meeting, astounded by these stands (Dobrica Cosic's stands), informed the president of the Republic of Serbia. The president of the republic demanded to know the content of these talks. He was given the shorthand notes and because of the nature of the views that were expressed there he briefed the president of the Assembly of Serbia who made excerpts of the shorthand notes available to deputies in the Chamber of the Republics from Serbia." (Milomir Minic, the unauthorized shorthand notes).

If it was the shorthand notes that served as the instrument for bringing down Cosic and not Seselj's ten points then it is understandable that this document would be the most sought after thing in the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

All the Socialist deputies shook their heads in denial: They had not seen the shorthand notes and only on Monday at a session of the deputies' club were they told as much as everyone else could hear from the mouths of Nedeljko Sipovac and Radmilo Bogdanovic.

Radmilo Bogdanovic claimed: "I did not see all of the shorthand notes. Ask Minic." Asked why the shorthand notes were not given to the deputies, Bogdanovic replied: "Well, the shorthand notes were not the subject of the debate. We were discussing parts of a statement."

Not even Vojislav Seselj, who in an interview for NIN did not conceal his "good connections" and "good sources of information," saw the shorthand notes. "You know that everything that I know I say immediately and I did not have a clue about the shorthand notes. When we went to see Radmilo Bogdanovic on Monday morning in order to coordinate activities I was surprised that no one opposed the inclusion on the agenda of the debate on Cosic's violations of the Constitution. Neither the Socialists nor the Montenegrin Democratic Party of Socialists opposed this," Seselj said.

For him the question is whether he sees any similarities between this trial held without Cosic and his trial in Sarajevo when documents were used that had been found in his desk, as well as people he had spoken to on trains. "The talks in the trains were private talks but these were official talks," is the difference that Seselj sees.

Unofficially, Svetozar Marovic "departed for Podgorica with excerpts from the shorthand notes, the only copy given to the Democratic Party of Socialists." Officially, Dragan Djurovic, member of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro, said: "Yesterday morning we heard about these accusations against Cosic for the first time through excerpts of the so-called shorthand notes. I think that it was normal for the deputies to have had all of the shorthand notes and not for extracted parts to be bandied about which we could not check."

Ranko Krivokapic, member of the Socialist Party of Montenegro, which wants an independent Montenegro, laughs: "What do I want with shorthand notes in which Dobrica Cosic talks about the Slovene syndrome among us Montenegrins. Cosic has told me this in all our conversations."

Cosic's office says: "We did not make any shorthand notes of the talks. The General Staff asked us not to bring a stenographer so that the generals could put forward their view more freely. We did not notice whether the Army was making any shorthand notes, nor did we see any tape recorders. People in the know told us later that there was no possibility of any secret recording being made. We do not even have a list of all the participants in the talks. Otherwise, the generals made their own notes during the talks."

The General Staff organized the talks with Cosic on 27 May but its information service did not know who all the participants were, nor did it see any shorthand notes.

Nor were shorthand notes seen in the Air Force Command from where—according to the rumors—Milosevic received word that Cosic was thinking about political-military-police issues. There was nothing new in these talks, nothing that Cosic had not already said a thousand times, according to what the well-informed are saying.

NIN informed the offices of Slobodan Milosevic, Milomir Minic, and Zoran Lilic of its desire to publish the shorthand notes as an exceptionally important document. We asked the secretaries to ask Goran Milinovic (head of Mr. Milosevic's office), Minic, and Lilic only to tell us through them whether we could receive the shorthand notes or not.

By 1500 on Wednesday, when this edition went to press, we had not received any replies from these offices.

Until shorthand notes are available, all stories are possible and equally plausible. Alongside the story that the police broke into the talks is another one to the effect that this story was spread by those who want to save the chairs that are rocking beneath them and their uniform is metal gray in color. Along with the claim that Cosic said that he had been asked, "What are you waiting for...," it is just as believable that he stressed that he and no one else is the supreme commander.

Cosic on 'Police State'

AU1106094993 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 93 pp 14-15

[Report on interview with Dobrica Cosic, former president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Svetislav Spasojevic in Belgrade on 31 May: "The Loneliness of a 'Sinner'"]

[Text] A person involved in journalism has to deal mainly with people, so he is condemned to meet people and is even privileged to have some as friends. By socializing with them he is simply enjoying himself. As Crnjanski would say, life is an old comedian, and it ensured that I spent the last two hours of Dobrica Cosic's presidency with him. I was the last person he received in his office in his capacity of president of Yugoslavia.

Many years ago I often used to meet the now deceased Serbian Patriarch German. He liked us to talk about his compatriot—this is what he called Cosic because the two of them, like me, were from Velika Drenova—and he never failed to ask me: "Compatriot, what does the wisest Serbian mind say?" In the published notes of these talks I wrote the words of Hranislav Djoric, Patriarch German's predecessor: "....One can demonstrate the slow-mindedness of the Serbian Communists with the example of Dobrica Cosic. By exiling the wisest Serb because of the truth he tells they commit a greater sin against his people than against him."

After only a quarter of a century, the successors of these persecutors are repeating the mistake of their teachers, proving that both cases involve the kind of people who are prepared to do anything.

Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] is Dobrica Cosic's obsession. Nobody has delved so deeply into the Albanian question. It is sheer impudence now to talk about this issue and ignore Mr. Cosic and everything he means by "a radical solution to the number one Balkan issue."

He heard from Dragoslav Rancic, his press advisor, that I had visited Kosmet, so he telephoned me on Sunday and said that his secretary would be informing me when we could meet on Monday. I reminded him that a session of the Assembly of Yugoslavia had been scheduled for Monday and that it would probably discuss his suitability for his post. He took this as a joke and added that he would probably be free around midday.

Some time before 1300 I entered the Palace of Yugoslavia from the Danube side. The security people did not ask for my documentation. They only asked me my name. They took me to the old office of the Assembly president. That is to say, Mr. Cosic had asked to move

from the office that had belonged to the late Josip Broz [Tito] which was as big as a fair-sized factory.

Right at the beginning I said to him that I would not ask after his health because he looked more than well. (Mr. Cosic has had several serious operations in the last few years.) I reminded him that the last time we met was in the Sava Center during the "assembly of all Serbs" and that when we had passed by each other he had shaken my hand so firmly that it had hurt me. He laughed and I knew that the recollection had pleased him.

Concealed Pill

A waiter appeared with glasses of water, juice, and medicine. We already had a bottle of brandy on the table which had been brought from home. The president had found it in a cupboard. The glasses were small and I did not fill them full. I knew that he liked to drink a lot but never too much.

"Where is the doctor," he asked the waiter and it was obvious that this was not the first time he had asked this question.

"He is not here," the waiter replied.

He put his pill in the pocket of his jacket and said that medicine and brandy never go together. He laughed impishly at his little deceit.

A person who succeeds in reaching the very top of authority always endeavors to mold it according to himself. At the root of this claim lies the explanation of why, while Dobrica Cosic was talking with a journalist in New Belgrade, the noose was being tightened around his neck in the old building of the Assembly. The way a person chooses to fight depends primarily on their character. They way in which on the night between Monday and Tuesday the man from Velika Drenova was removed from his post clearly attests to the character of the first man of the Serbian regime. On the other hand, the Morava man is too tolerant and too much of a democrat in his bones to crudely oppose anyone.

The now already former president of Yugoslavia did not know what was being prepared for him. We talked about everything and even about his departure. But we did not utter one word about his possible dismissal.

Never in this conversation did I need to feel inhibited or to conceal my real intention. This is why on this occasion I quite clearly asked him whether he would resign, as has been mentioned in some Belgrade circles. I told him that 16 June, the anniversary of the day he was elected in the Assembly of Yugoslavia, had been mentioned in this regard.

He talked in quite a lot of detail about how very difficult and responsible his job is. It is unjustifiably called a ceremonial position. He works day and night and uses up a lot of energy. He said that one day he had had an important meeting with leading army officers which had lasted nine hours. He had had problems with his health after such a strenuous day but he had not said anything to his wife about this!

Despite the fact that he works hard he is not satisfied with the results. He thinks that much has been done abroad.

"They had decided to destroy the bridges on the Drina on 4 May," he said. "They wanted to bomb them. They had even decided on the time, between 0100 and 0300. You know that we just about avoided that?"

He added that the Serbs should always be grateful to the Greeks. He praises the Greeks as much as he condemns the Macedonians. He blames them for running down the Serbs wherever they are in the world.

Vucelic Is Not Like That

"What kind of evil is making them behave in this way? They are using the sanctions to blackmail us and are therefore profiting from our misfortune. If we respect anyone's independence then we respect theirs."

He is very unhappy with the situation in the country.

"You see that I am alone. Even your colleagues are against my views. I am a president who does not have a press, a police force, army, a political party....Even the opposition is against me! I should go away as soon as possible. I have abandoned my writing. I do not have the time. I should finish some of the books I have begun. It is very important that I do that. I have to get away from here quickly. Enough is enough.

"I have been thinking about this more and more. I promised you that as soon as I resigned I would give you an interview for NIN. You will see that your wish will come true very soon."

I reminded him, and all this was not devoid of cynicism, that thanks to him Milorad Vucelic became head of Radio Television Serbia and that therefore he is not right when he says that no one in the Serbian press is disposed toward him. I said all this and I wanted a fierce reaction. I did not get one. He calmly admitted that he "pushed" Mr. Vucelic but said that his benevolence had not been reciprocated. He did not complain about this but he was sure that some of his political views had been neglected thanks to the silence of the media.

Freed of the obligation to be tactful I told him that Vucelic has the reputation in journalists' circles for being inclined to run from those who are currently politically weak to those who are politically stronger. He claimed that journalists are not right and that the former NIN journalist and now the television head sincerely believes in what he is doing.

"Vucelic is convinced that everything that Slobodan Milosevic does is the best thing for the people and the state and that this should be supported. Believe me this is what he thinks and it is therefore not in the least bit

surprising that he works like that," he said and his voice was colored with that sincere certainty.

I thought, but I did not tell him this out of politeness, that he has lived through many years and decades but that in Vucelic's case he is simply naive.

"I have not succeeded in anything," he suddenly complained. "Fortunately written evidence will remain of what I wanted but was prevented from realizing. I proposed that the Constitution be changed, that a specialist government [koncentraciona vlada] be set up.... I am telling you, it can no longer go on like this."

"You also proposed a radical solution to the Kosmet issue," I reminded him.

"No one in Serbia has the courage to do this. Everyone is concerned with day-to-day politics and not with the fate of the people."

I have met many people but in all these years I have never had the opportunity to meet a more attentive interviewee than Dobrica Cosic. The man from Morava is endowed with calmness and the unbelievable patience to listen to anyone, almost as far as self-annihilation. There is no more attentive listener than he. I made use of this to relate to him in detail my impressions of my last trip to Kosmet. I told him everything has become absurd there. The Serbs behave as if Kosmet is ethnically pure and as if they are the only ones who live there. They are doing a great injustice to the Albanians. It could be even greater than the injustice the Albanians did to the Serbs about a decade ago. Kosmet is governed solely by the use of force and peace will primarily last as long as the Albanians' patience and will not depend on the size of the army or the police. Shallow-minded people are of course governing Kosmet according to the will and at the behest of Belgrade. I told him that I was astonished at the inability of these people and the anarchy that the majority has surrendered to. I frankly told him that the policy of Slobodan Milosevic with regard to Kosmet is catastrophic and that the Serbs will pay a high price for this error. To save what can be saved this policy should be changed immediately, today if not yesterday.

Force Is Not a Solution

"In Serbia, remember, no one has sufficient courage to offer a real solution to the Kosmet issue. The role of the police and the army was at one point good in order to prevent bloodshed. But force cannot resolve anything completely and in a just way. We are irrevocably moving toward a police state. This is the worst thing that could happen to us."

I suggested I help him try to stop this unbearable silence that prevails between the Albanians and the Serbs. To help him to establish some kind of contact with some of the Albanian leaders I know. He did not refuse me but said he would think about it and get in touch with me in a few days time.

We parted company some time before 1600. He asked me—but it seemed he did not expect an answer—if I knew what was happening in the Assembly of Yugoslavia. I told him I did not know and I had the impression that it was all the same to him. He then got into his car and went home for dinner and I went to the NIN offices in another car.

The reader has had the opportunity to see what happened in the Assembly that afternoon and evening. The Federal Assembly hastily dismissed Dobrica Cosic.

In the morning I rushed to visit him. All the time thinking and worrying how he took the news of what happened in the Assembly. A policeman was standing opposite the building. He asked me where I was going and when I told him he asked me again whether I had an appointment with "the comrade president." He was being serious and asked for my identity card. Perhaps he had not been watching television.

I found the smiling "sinner."

Poll Shows Cosic Most Popular Politician

AU0906172893

[Editorial Report] Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 5-6 June carries on pages six and seven of its regular weekly supplement an approximately 3,000-word report by Nadezda Gace on the results of an opinion poll on the popularity of some Yugoslav and Bosnian Serb politicians.

The poll was carried out via telephone by Statlab from the College of Organizational Sciences in Belgrade and involves 915 respondents. According to the report, "the population surveyed was stratified according to the electoral constituencies. The results took into account the structure of the electorate."

The report does not contain specific figures on the popularity of the top politicians. Its results are presented in three bar charts and one table. The chart coordinates do not have any markings, but the equidistant lines running through the charts render the reading of the results in terms of possible figures. All figures are approximate.

The chart dealing with the "Assessment of Political Personalities in the FRY" divides politicians into those "positively" and "negatively" assessed. On what could be seen as a zero-30-point scale, the "positively" assessed, in the order of popularity, include: D. Cosic (15 points), S. Milosevic (10 points), M. Bulatovic (9 points) and V. Jovanovic (4 points).

Those negatively assessed include, starting with the least popular politicians, the following: V. Pesic (approximately - 28 points); V. Draskovic (- 23 points); Milan Panic (- 18 points); R. Bozovic (- 18 points); S. Marovic (- 13 points); B. Jovic (- 12 points); N. Kilibarda (- 11 points); N. Sainovic (- 10 points); M. Jovic (- 9 points); Z. R. Arkan (- 5 points); D. Micunovic (- 5 points); V.

Seselj (- 5 points); V. Kostunica (- 5 points); M. Djukanovic (- 3 points); R. Kontic (- 2 points); Z. Djindjic (- 1 point); B. Crncevic (- 0.5 points).

The chart dealing with the "Best Politicians According to Respondents" lists on what could be described as a zero-100-point scale the following politicians:

S. Milosevic (91); D. Cosic (56); V. Seselj (29); M. Bulatovic (18); V. Kostunica (16); V. Draskovic (12); D. Micunovic (12); V. Jovanovic (7); Z. Djindjic (6); and M. Panic (6). The following scored three points or fewer: B. Jovic, M. Jovic, B. Crncevic, Z.R. Arkan, R. Kontic, N. Kilibarda. N. Sainovic, M. Djukanovic, R. Bozovic, V. Pesic, and S. Marovic.

A bar chart depicting the "Assessments for Milosevic and Cosic According to Age Groups" shows a negative score for Milosevic in the age group up till 30, Cosic leading Milosevic in the next two age groups, 31-45 and 46-60, and Milosevic leading Cosic in the age group above 61.

In addition to these three bar charts, the report also carries a table showing the politicians' order of popularity between October 1992 and March 1993 as follows:

October 1992	December 1992	February 1993	March 1993
D. Cosic	D. Cosic	D. Cosic	D. Cosic
M. Panic	S. Milosevic	S. Milosevic	S. Milosevic
M. Bulatovic	M. Bulatovic	M. Bulatovic	M. Bulatovic
V. Jovanovic	B. Crncevic	V. Seselj	V. Jovanovic
O. Kovac	O. Kovac	B. Crncevic	B. Crncevic

Commenting on the popularity of the Bosnian Serb politicians, the report says:

"Detailed and expert analysis of the effects of the policy conducted by the Bosnian Serbs, particularly Radovan Karadzic as the most prominent figurehead, and Biljana Plavsic, who was received in Serbia with a great deal of controversy, is not very flattering. However, the public reacts on the basis of information available or provided, prejudices created, and the mentioned admiration for defiance.

"Judged by the same sample as the politicians in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Radovan Karadzic received the best score. He easily 'beats' Milosevic and Dobrica Cosic in all except the youngest age group. He is not liked more by women than men, and he is not liked only by his occasional fellow-citizens, the citizens of Belgrade, who rate him considerably lower than other electoral constituencies.

"In comparison with Yugoslav politicians, Biljana Plavsic was also at the very top.

"Milosevic, Cosic, and Bulatovic did not manage to influence the Serbs in the Serbian republic in Bosnia to vote in their referendum on the Vance-Owen plan in the way that they recommended. However, the question is how the experiment in the opposite direction would fare—that is, attempts by Karadzic and Plavsic to influence the public in the Republic of Serbia, since 45.8 percent of the population considers Karadzic an ideal politician.

"According to the results, Karadzic would be the most popular politician in all the electoral constituencies except Belgrade, Uzice, and Smederevo. He came second in these three places.

"Such results are not surprising when one remembers the way television changed its attitude toward Karadzic and his aides.

"Asked whether they would vote for or against the Vance-Owen plan, the respondents voted as follows: 54.6 percent against, 41.9 in favor, and only 3.5 said they did not know.

"Men are much more militant than women. Older people seem to be more inclined to take on the entire world than the young. It is also interesting that there were no people without a view on this matter in five electoral constituencies. In the Pristina constituency, 82.6 percent were opposed to the signing of the Vance-Owen plan.

"The inconsistency of this result with the respondents' respect for all the three presidents, who were explicitly in favor of the signing of the plan, is resolved by the answer to the question on whether there is a conflict between Milosevic and Karadzic. Only a quarter of those polled think that there is a real rift, while more that half 'know' that the conflict had been 'staged.' The young are more skeptical about a real rift than the old. In Pristina, only 8 percent believe that there is a rift between Milosevic and Karadzic."

Poverty Level of Population at 97 Percent

LD1006164193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—Around 97 percent of the population in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is at the poverty level, director of the Belgrade Economic Research Centre Danilo Sukovic told TANJUG on Thursday.

The middle class no longer exists, and the rich account for 3 percent of the population, meaning for 300,000 of the 10 million Yugoslavs, sociologists have found.

"Since the crisis is rapidly deteriorating as a result of the (U.N.) economic sanctions, the threat of poverty is acquiring even more dramatic proportions," Sukovic said.

The social product in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is inadequate to secure even the minimal subsistence level of one U.S. dollar per capita, the Belgrade Institute of Economics has established.

The former Yugoslav federation disintegrated in 1991, after which war broke out first in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and then also in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The U.N. Security Council in May 1992 imposed political and economic sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It tightened the sanctions in April this year.

In early 1990, the so-called statistical spending minimum for a four-member family stood at 80 percent of the average Yugoslav salary. In March this year, the minimum required 3.5 average salaries, Sukovic said.

In order to buy a liter of milk in February 1991 it was necessary to work an average of 16 minutes, but in March this year one full hour was required. It took eight hours of work in February 1991 to buy a man's shirt, and as many as seven work days in March 1993, Sukovic said.

Serbia

Seselj Says Renewal Movement Should Not Be Banned

AU1006160593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party is of the opinion that there is no reason to ban the Serbian Renewal Movement. This is what Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, said at the regular news conference, and added that it is necessary to individually punish criminal acts that have been proven through routine procedures. Here is a report by Dragoljub Stankic:

[Begin recording] [Stankic] In the case of each crime—killing and wounding militiamen and inciting and perpetrating violence, as well as desecrating the flag—one must act according to the principle of individual responsibility because, in Seselj's opinion, the leadership of the Serbian Renewal Movement on the whole has not organized this action.

[Seselj] The fact that some members of the party's leadership and some members of the party have committed criminal acts and crimes in the street does not mean that the entire party should be banned. We are of the opinion that if the party is not banned and is allowed to wage a political struggle with democratic means, then moderate currents in that party would come to the fore.

[Stankic] Vojislav Seselj condemns the interference of forces outside the country in our internal affairs. They used to calmly ignore the fact that humanitarian aid to us was blocked and that babies were dying but when, as he put it, their agents found themselves subjected to legal consequences, they suddenly spoke up in defense of democracy.

[Seselj] We must defend democracy when violence breaks out during street unrests and do so in the same way that the United States defended democracy when the same kind of riots broke out in Los Angeles, California.

[Stankic] The Serbian Radical Party warns that the economic and social situation is very grave and that the people's patience is nearing an end. The federal and republican governments are late in taking social measures, so the Serbian Radical Party is going to haul both governments on the carpet before the parliamentary bodies. [end recording]

Macedonia

Government Accepts Plan for U.S. Troop Deployment

LD1006171693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1544 GMT 10 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Skopje, June 10 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) has accepted a plan for the deployment of 300 U.S. troops as reinforcements of the U.N. troops already stationed on the territory of FYROM, the Information Ministry in Skopje said on Thursday.

The task of the 736 U.N. troops from Sweden, Denmark and Finland currently deployed in FYROM is to prevent the conflicts in other parts of the former Yugoslavia from spreading to the south and to monitor FYROM's borders with Serbia and Albania, according to the AFP.

REUTERS on Thursday said U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher had told his NATO counterparts that Washington was ready to send land troops to the FYROM as part of the U.N. monitoring force.

German State Secretary Dieter Kastrup told reporters Christopher had made the offer at the meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Athens on Thursday.

Montenegro

Owen Arrives; Holds Talks With Bulatovic

LD1006161393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Podgorica, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—The cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, arrived in Podgorica from Tirana this afternoon.

Immediately upon their arrival, they met Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic. The talks are being held behind closed doors. A news conference is scheduled to take place after the talks.

The main topic of the talks, as learned from unofficial sources, is the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan and the situation in the region.

Stoltenberg, Bulatovic Make Statements on Talks

LD1006202793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Podgorica, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—The cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, arrived in Podgorica from Tirana this afternoon. They had nearly two hours of talks with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic behind closed doors.

In a brief statement for the media, Thorvald Stoltenberg assessed today's talks as significant.

"We had a very open exchange of views about the situation in the region, which is very important at these critical times. I believe that we are now at a stage when an exchange of views is of great importance for us to find a solution. We know that brutal things are being done while we talk. We are also aware that the time factor is critical. For this reason, the talks with President Bulatovic were of great importance," cochairman Stoltenberg said.

"Lord Owen explained to me what importance he ascribes to talks with President Bulatovic, and this has been confirmed today," Stoltenberg added.

Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic expressed gratitude to cochairmen Owen and Stoltenberg for their exceptional perseverance and considerable negotiating enthusiasm that they bring to this situation at the time when the negotiating process should be taken out of deadlock and when the road of constructive struggle for peace must be followed.

"I greatly appreciate their visit and the opportunity they have provided for an exchange of views about a whole range of topical issues, not just about Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also about the totality of relations in former Yugoslavia. I hope that soon we will have the opportunity to continue the talks, which, in other words, will mean that the negotiations will be moved out the present deadlock and be revived," Bulatovic said.

Leaders React to Minister's Statement on Observers

AU1106113793 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29-30 May 93 p 3

[Report by D. Vukovic: "A Step Toward Political Independence?"]

[Text] Podgorica— "The Montenegrin attitudes about the noninterference of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as about the sanctioning of war crimes are well known. Other problems are implementation modalities and the wish of the international community to convince itself that we are honest. Montenegro is open for solutions, ideas, and options. I think that Foreign Minister Lekic's statement issued after the talks with Italy's foreign minister has to be seen in this context.

"It has to be mentioned, though, that the federal state is in charge of foreign policy. Montenegro is an equal subject and actively participates in its realization," Momcilo Stojanovic, the spokesman of the president of Montenegro, said yesterday. Reporters were interested in what President Bulatovic and Prime Minister Djukanovic think about Foreign Minister Lekic's statement, but received no answer. We were told by the head of the prime minister's cabinet that the prime minister was not in Podgorica, and President Bulatovic addressed the reporters through his spokesman. Predrag Bulatovic, the chairman of the Democratic Party Delegates Club, spoke with the reporters.

"Yugoslav foreign policy must be led according to the Federal Constitution—it has to be unitary, with elements of sovereignty of its republics in those fields where they have specific interests, but the interest of the federal state must not be jeopardized. It is very important for the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and for the future of the sanctions to accept international observers on the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina, but this decision can only be taken by those who are in charge of the foreign policy of the country—the Federal Parliament and the federal government. We are confronted with the situation that such an important issue is approved or disapproved by individuals—Cosic, Lalic, and now also Montenegrin Foreign Minister Lekic," Bulatovic said.

Accepted by the President, Too

The statement issued in Rome by Miodrag Lekic, foreign minister of Montenegro, that his government was ready to accept foreign observers on the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina within the Vance-Owen plan, was not a big surprise in well-informed diplomatic circles in Belgrade. We heard from Eastern European diplomats yesterday that Miodrag Bulatovic, president of Montenegro, also said the same thing to Andrey Kozyrev during his last visit to Montenegro.

Lekic's statement was a surprise for the People's Party of Montenegro. Predrag Drecun, the president of the executive committee of this party, was surprised by contradictory statements issued by Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Miodrag Lekic, foreign minister of Montenegro. "It is obvious that the attitude of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia differs from that of the political leadership of Montenegro. It cannot be said yet whether this happened on purpose or not, but the People's Party will ask Minister Lekic for explanation in the next session of the Montenegrin Parliament," Drecun said.

Slavko Perovic, leader of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, interprets Lekic's statement as "an attempt to

exempt Montenegro from sanctions." Perovic says that the leadership in Podgorica has probably recognized that Serbia, that is to say the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, will have big difficulties for many years, perhaps even decades to come, that there will be no foreign investments for the recovery of the country's economy, for which reason Montenegro wants to "disassociate itself from Belgrade and show (and prove) to the West that it is something completely different from Serbia and that it deserves some other treatment or status concerning the economic sanctions. I think that Lekic's statement was issued in this context. I think that it need not be interpreted dramatically—as a break-away from Belgrade, but as an appeal to the West to treat Montenegro in a different way. This corresponds to what President Bulatovic said when he supported the idea to ease the sanctions for Montenegro according to the Iraqi model," Perovic said.

"If this is the attitude of the Montenegrin establishment, Lekic's statement is the only possible civilized step. This is a cooperative attitude and an achievement in self-confidence," Mihailo Vujosevic, chairman of the executive committee of the Social Democratic Party, said for BORBA.

Rade Bojovic, chairman of the executive committee of the Socialist Party, has a similar opinion and says: "We completely agree with the foreign minister. Such a statement is a support for the political independence of Montenegro."

Kosovo

Rugova Expresses Views to Vienna Conference

AU0906122293 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 114 in English 8 Jun 93

[Unattributed report: "President Rugova Presents His Views on Kosova to the Vienna Conference"]

[Text] Regretting that he could not participate at the international conference, organized by the International Helsinki Federation in Vienna on the topic Re-emergence of the Albanian Question, due to the current very grave situation in Kosova, the president of the republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova submitted a paper of his views on the Kosova problem, and the Albanian issue.

In his paper to the conference, which began on Monday [7 June] in the Austrian capital, Dr. Rugova says:

"This current conference I see in the continuation of serious efforts towards a better understanding of the Albanian question in present-day circumstances in the Balkans, Europe and the world. I also see it as a contribution to its solution. Having in mind that the topic will be addressed from many aspects by the participants of the conference, in my paper I will be concentrating in two issues: Why is the Albanian question re-emerging; and in the Albanian political project towards the solution of the question, and its prospects in the Balkans and Europe.

1. Why is the Albanian Question Reemerging

"In order to have an answer to this question, I will briefly go through its history.

"The Albanian question emerged as a European question at the League of Prizren in 1878, when the Albanians attempted to have their national state, by including all ethnic territories. This attempt was met with violence by the Ottoman Empire, and was ignored by the Congress of Berlin. After three decades long wars and rebellions, the Albanian question was once again actualized in 1912, by the declaration of independence of Albania, which meant all present-day Albanian territories. The London Conference of Ambassadors of 1913 drew artificial borders by not accepting ethnic borders of Albania. With the beginning of the World War I, the, by this conference, defined borders remained open and unsettled. In 1918, by the Treaty of Versailles, even following firm insistence of President Wilson for a reorganization of the Balkans on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination also including the Albanians, which unfortunately was not accepted, the Albanian people was divided in two halves. The borders of the London Ambassadorial Conference were recognized in Versailles. They were not legitimate, because they were never practically established. Thus, one half of the Albanian people remained in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later the Yugoslav Kingdom.

"During the World War II, the Albanian question was again reactualized. In 1941, the largest part of Kosova and other Albanian territories of Macedonia and Montenegro were ceded to Albania by Italy. In 1945, with the federalization of Yugoslavia by the Communists, Kosova was not recognized the right to self-determination and unification with Albania, a right proclaimed in 1943, and was forcefully put into the Yugoslav federation. The Albanians, thus, were further divided into four federal units: Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, and South Serbia.

"Given the above brief presentation, we may conclude that the Albanian question is re-emerging today for the following reasons:

a) Because the Albanian people was divided in two in 1918, confirmed in 1945, and:

b) because the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, which began with permanent violence against the Albanians since 1981, with the war in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, and later in Bosnia, brought again to the fore this question as a European and international question.

"If we were to reply in more theoretical terms we would say that the Albanian question is re-emerging today since it is the only case of a people divided in two in the latest

European history. This is not a minority issue, but it is a problem of the division of a people.

"Europe and the international community must understand that Albanians in relation to the present-day Albania are not a minority, as well as in relation to the peoples of the former Yugoslav federation, as they were the third largest people, (around 3 million) after Serbs and Croats.

2. The Albanian Political Project and the Importance of the Question

"Following the beginning of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, Albanian political parties of Kosova and other Albanian territories in Macedonia, Montenegro and South Serbia, adopted a joint document in October 1991, in which three options for the solution of the Albanian question in former Yugoslavia were anticipated: according to the first option, respecting the internal borders of former Yugoslavia, it was demanded that Kosova be an independent and neutral state, Albanians in Macedonia be state-founding element, whereas Albanians in Montenegro and south Serbia have local autonomy. According to the second option, if the internal borders of former Yugoslavia change, the Albanians demand an Albanian republic, and according to the third option, if the external borders of Yugoslavia change, then the unification of Kosova and other Albanian territories with Albania will be demanded.

"In compliance with the first option, Kosova has held a referendum on independence in September 1991, the Albanians in Macedonia in January 1992, as well as the Albanians of South Serbia and Montenegro.

"On 24 May 1992, Kosova held the first free parliamentary and presidential elections, though under police and military Serb occupation.

"All these steps have been undertaken by the Albanians within the framework of their non-violent resistance. If an independent and neutral Kosova open to Albania and Serbia is not recognized, then the demand of the Albanians for unification with Albania will grow even stronger and their radicalization will occur. Any further remaining of Kosova within the rest of Yugoslavia, or Serbia, is unacceptable, as Kosova was part of the former Yugoslav federation. Moreover, any kind of autonomy would not solve the Albanian question. An independent and neutral Kosova would be a good solution for the Serbs as well.

"Given the very grave situation in Kosova with possibilities of escalation of violence and conflicts, which would involve the entire region, the Kosova leadership has requested placing Kosova under a system of U.N. trusteeship, and the deployment of international troops as a step towards a political solution of the question.

"The importance of the re-emergence of the Albanian question today is special for the Balkans, because without its solution the region will never reach tranquility. It is also important to Europe, as its solution would extinguish a point of crisis, which in the past was violently and unjustly settled.

"Speaking in economic and political terms, with the solution of the Albanian question on the principle of self-determination of ethnic communities and not of territories, an etatist concept, the Balkans and Europe will gain a stable and vital factor and partner."

[Text] "During all these years of violence and war in former Yugoslavia, Kosova and the Albanians have proven themselves as a factor of stability and peaceful solutions. This should be assessed and acknowledged, instead of violence and aggression.

"At the end, allow me please to underscore that this scientific international conference, under the topic 'The Re-Emergence of the Albanian Question,' is of a special importance as for the first time it is being addressed on an international level, as an unsettled question of a people in Europe, and not just as a problem. It would be good if a conference on the international and European political and diplomatic level was held, which would offer a global solution of the re-emerged Albanian question.

"It is a merit of this international scientific conference in Vienna that the Albanian question is being addressed as a re-emerged question, that the Albanian question is being taken out of the faked drawers of the Balkan scientists in the service of various European conferences and treaties."

Serbs Destroy Albanian Archaeological Centers

AU1006140593 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—Serb barbarism has taken aim at the archaeological centers of Kosova, too, which are being destroyed with the aim of liquidating everything Albanian. This happened with objects of great cultural value in Ulpiane, Gradine, Bardhi i Madh (Fushe-Kosova), in Gradine of Peje, Vucitern, Kacanik, etc. 1000 exhibits seized from Kosova are to be found in Macedonia alone, the newspaper RILINDJA writes. An ugly act was also that of destroying the very rich fund of public and university library. Many Albanian publications pertaining to this library disappeared.